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The Forum

EDITED BY J. M. RICE

OCTOBER—DECEMBER, 1902

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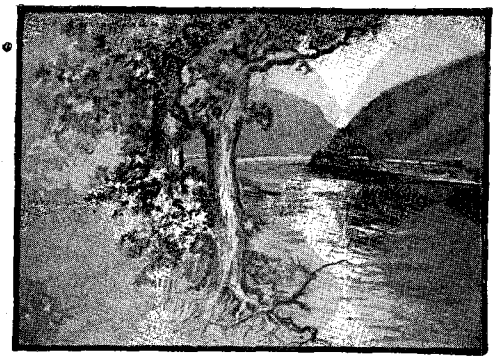
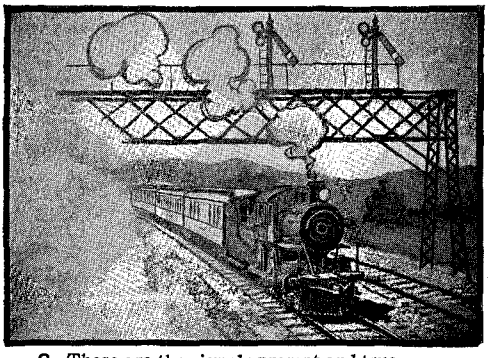


1—These are the views disclosed to sight
Of Water Gap and mountain height
That lie on the Road of Anthracite

4—This is the swain all shaven and shorn
Who wooed the maiden all in lawn
Because her gown untravelworn
Delighted his fastidious sight
All on the Road of Anthracite



2—These are the signals prompt and true
That make the journey safe for you
Over the bed of ballast rock
That keeps the trains from jar and shock
That smoothly runs both day and night
On the dustless Road of Anthracite

5—This is the Priest in gown and band
Who married the couple out of hand
Who said they fell in love at sight
Because each looked so fresh and bright
On the dustless Road of Anthracite

3—This is the Maiden all in Lawn
Who boarded the train one early morn
That runs on the Road of Anthracite
And when she left the train that night
She found to her surprised delight
Hard coal had kept her dress still white

6—This is the waiter suave, polite
Who laid the table clean and white
That held the wedding feast that night
For priest, and swain, and maid in lawn
Who boarded the train one early morn
A trip made safe for them and you
By signals prompt and ballast true
On the dustless Road of Anthracite

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THE FORUM.

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The Forum

OCTOBER, 1902.

AMERICAN POLITICS.

PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT'S tour through New England afforded him an opportunity to make several public speeches. His utterances have a refreshing quality. In recent years the American people have listened to the heavy platitudes of Cleveland, have enjoyed the charm of felicitous expression which Harrison possessed, and have been inspired by the lofty and patriotic sentiments of McKinley. Roosevelt's speeches possess their own individuality. He impresses himself upon his audience as a man who is thoroughly sincere and tremendously earnest. His words ring solid upon the ear. Even when his sentences are read they carry a sense of frankness and enthusiasm. They have vital force. When President Roosevelt talks, there is no evasion or equivocation. The sentiment which is in his mind finds expression. Its effect upon his auditor always seems to be a secondary consideration.

Whether he will have it so or not, the visit of the President to New England and the Northwest, which will have been undertaken ere this article appears, must be regarded as political events. A campaign is in progress. The people are to choose between Republican and Democratic candidates for Congress. The President is a Republican; and his addresses, no matter how broad and national he may desire them to be, are largely the exposition of Republican doctrine. He is the head of his party as well as the chief executive of the nation. His speeches sound the keynote, to use a trite phrase, of his party upon imperialism, the trusts, and Cuban reciprocity, and will, more than the utterances of any partisan orator, influence voters. Under these circumstances, it is

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impossible to differentiate the President's trip from a campaign tour. Only by remaining at home or by keeping silent *en route* could he have avoided trenching upon political questions, so closely allied are all national topics to party issues. He did neither; and, therefore, his addresses must, directly or indirectly, benefit the party of which he is the most conspicuous member.

Upon the questions which are uppermost in the public mind, President Roosevelt has declared himself with his usual directness and with characteristic optimism. He believes that the establishment of reciprocal trade relations with Cuba is soon to be secured. As to the Philippines, he courageously faces a task which, while "requiring infinite firmness, patience, tact, and broad-mindedness," will, nevertheless, in his opinion, be successfully accomplished. It is astounding, he says, how few failures have marked the efforts to solve the Philippine problem. He sums up the Republican view of the results thus far obtained when he says:

> Each inhabitant of the Philippines is now guaranteed his civil and religious rights, his rights to life, personal liberty, and the pursuit of happiness, subject only to not infringing on the rights of others. It is worth noting that already the Philippine people have received a greater share of self-government, that they have more to say as to how they shall be governed, than is the case with any people in the Orient which is under European rule.

And, turning to the practical side, he finds that the possession of the Philippines has helped us to secure our share of Oriental trade. In fact, it is quite evident from the tone of the President's addresses, if such proof is needed, that he is enthusiastically determined to carry out the policy inaugurated by the late President McKinley, and that the withdrawal of the American flag from the archipelago is a contingency too remote for a moment's consideration.

Viewed from an impartial standpoint, it has always seemed to me, and I so expressed myself in the last issue of THE FORUM, as if the Philippine question might, as long as present conditions exist, be discarded as a political issue, because the retention of the islands is approved by a large proportion of the American people. The reëlection of President McKinley was a distinct evidence of the trend of the public mind. Far more important than his position on the Philippines, from the campaign point of view, is the attitude which the President has assumed toward trusts in his recent speeches; and that he realizes the importance of this issue is shown by the care and frequency with which he discusses it. He did not wait for his journey into New England to

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express himself. In his speech at Pittsburg, on the Fourth of July, he grappled with the trust question; and, later, semi-official statements from his home at Oyster Bay made it manifest that he was seeking the judgment of national legislators as to the best manner of dealing with the industrial problem.

The President approaches the trust question with a conservatism somewhat at variance with the generally conceived idea of his impetuosity. Whatever else he may be, the President is not a demagogue. He does not pander to the passions of the poor. He does not promise the impossible. He says frankly what in his opinion is possible, emphasizing always the danger of envy, jealousy, and hatred. Much depends, as he points out, upon the individual, who must achieve prosperity by his own thrift, intelligence, energy, industry, and resolute purpose. The President evidently believes that these are the common characteristics of the American people, for he views the future with confident faith. "We may need, and in my belief will need," he said at Pittsburg, "new legislation conceived in no radical spirit, but in a spirit of common sense, common honesty, and a resolute desire to face facts as they are." He is not opposed to great individual and great corporate fortunes, as long as such wealth is used aright; but when not used aright, he adds, it becomes a serious menace. He says that while some of the rich may have grown richer, the poor have not become poorer. If corporate influences have become more powerful, it is because conditions have changed, because life has grown more complex.

Realizing, as all practical men must realize, that these conditions cannot be removed, President Roosevelt teaches the doctrine of adaptability. "We must shape our course anew," to quote his own words, "to meet the shifting needs of the people as these needs arise." Much good, he asserts, has resulted from the changed conditions, with, at the same time, some evils. The latter, in his judgment, cannot altogether be remedied, and he regards many of them as more apparent than real. "I see no promise of a complete solution," he frankly says, "for all the problems we group together when we speak of the trust question"; and he urges the people to distrust the man who offers a patent cure-all for the evils of the body politic. Nor would he counsel blind haste, desiring to be sure that "we do not use the knife with an ignorant zeal which would make it more dangerous to the patient than to the disease." In the way of suggestion, he proposes federal supervision of trusts, with a constitutional amendment if legislation is otherwise impossible. The kernel of his views is contained, perhaps, in the following paragraph:

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The mechanism of modern business is as delicate and complicated as it is vast, and nothing would be more productive of evil to all of us, and especially to those least well off in this world's goods, than ignorant meddling with this mechanism, and above all if the meddling was done in a spirit of class or sectional rancor. It is desirable that this power should be possessed by the nation, but it is quite as desirable that the power should be exercised with moderation and self-restraint. The first exercise of that power should be the securing of publicity among all great corporations doing an interstate business. The publicity, though non-inquisitorial, should be real and thorough as to all important facts with which the public has concern. The full light of day is a great discourager of evil. Such publicity would by itself tend to cure the evils of which there is just complaint, and where the alleged evils are imaginary it would tend to show that such was the case. When publicity is attained it would then be possible to see what further should be done in the way of regulation.

It seems to me that there is much wisdom in this declaration. The question which will appeal to the voters, however, is whether a Republican Congress will meet the trust question in the Roosevelt spirit. Even should the elections in November result in the choice of a Democratic majority in the House of Representatives of the Fifty-eighth Congress, the Republicans will still have a three-months' session next winter in which to enact legislation along the line of the President's suggestion. If the next House shall be Republican, there will, of course, be ample time for redeeming the President's pledges; and failure to do so might well be cited as the basis for predicting a Democratic victory in the next Presidential election.

The great outpouring of the people, both in the East and in the West, to greet Mr. Roosevelt is occasioned by something more than mere curiosity to see a President of the United States. He is a man of the people. His typical Americanism appeals to every patriotic soul; his democratic ways are popular; while his courage and manliness command respect. His renomination, which for some time past has been anticipated, now seems to be assured. He will be sure to get the New England delegates, with Massachusetts, under the leadership of Senator Lodge, heading the list; New York and Pennsylvania are already promised to him by Senators Platt and Quay; while in the West nearly every State has already declared for him. Indiana, which has a tentative candidate in Senator Fairbanks, and Ohio, where Senator Hanna is in supreme command, are alone exceptions to the rule; but there is little doubt that, at the proper time, these States will be in line. There is, of course, a strong Hanna sentiment among the Southern Republicans, due to the fact that he was the visible agent in the dispensation of the federal offices. Experience has shown, however, that such strength is really weakness. No aspirant

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for the Presidency who should come before a national convention with nothing behind him except the delegations from the South could hope for success.

It still remains to be seen, of course, whether the business interests will accept Mr. Roosevelt in 1904. His outspoken belief as to the necessity of regulating trusts may frighten the financial magnates who want to be let alone; but the probability is that his firm stand upon this all-important question will develop for him so much strength among the people that even the business interests will be compelled to acquiesce in his nomination.

The Congressional campaign is proceeding with unwonted quietness. The Republicans are complaining of apathy on the part of the voters, and already intimations are issuing from the Republican headquarters that this is an off-year and that Democratic gains may be expected. As a matter of fact, the people are too busy to talk politics. In many of the States the campaign will not open until about a month or six weeks before election day; and up to the present writing there have not been definite developments sufficient to warrant positive prediction. The continuance of the coal strike, if it shall continue until the election, will be a disadvantageous factor in the Republican situation. Senator Hanna, the chairman of the National Republican Committee and chairman of the Arbitration Committee of the Civic Federation, has already abandoned all efforts to bring about a settlement between the coal operators and the miners, and, in washing his hands of the matter, adroitly places the responsibility for non-agreement upon the coal barons instead of the workingmen. It will be remembered that the result of the Harrison-Cleveland campaign was largely determined by the Homestead strike; and that the present trouble is having its effect upon the political situation cannot be denied.

The position of the Republican party upon pending questions has been fully set forth in the text-book issued by the Republican Congressional Campaign Committee, a volume of about 400 pages. Prepared for the purpose of supplying campaign orators with material for their speeches, the book presents an interesting and valuable record, written, of course, from a Republican point of view. Thus we find it stated that "there are no federal laws now on the statute books that do not bear the impress of the Republican party," and we are assured, with equal confidence, that the prosperity which the nation has enjoyed during the last few years is the direct result of Republican administration. It is shown

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that the value of products has increased, wages have advanced, farm values have risen, mining industries have prospered, foreign trade has enormously developed, and manufacturing has become active to an unparalleled degree. The text-book says:

> There is fifty per cent more railroad business being done now each year under the Dingley Law than the average annual business done under the Wilson-Gorman Law. There is also an increase of fifty per cent in the total amount of wages now paid. The passenger is paying less, and the freight rate has fallen thirteen per cent. That this result is due in large measure to protection is shown by the fact that last year, while our corn, potato and apple crops were so small, and relatively but little of those staples was shipped, still the railroad business of the country was the greatest in our history.

It will interest the student of American economics to know that this Republican text-book makes this dogmatic assertion, printed in italics:

> In all lines, taking together all the establishments which have reported, there has been a decided increase in the number of employees, and in all cases, with the exception of the travelling salesmen, there has also been an increase in the amount of wages paid.

The figures which are given to prove the truth of this assertion are too voluminous to be quoted here, but they are worthy of careful analysis. Another assertion which is also of timely interest is the unqualified denial that the cost of living in Great Britain is cheaper than in the United States. It is also stated that the American workingman lives better than the European; that he eats more substantially, dresses better, is more comfortably housed, and more often owns his dwelling; that he spends more for life insurance and various social and beneficial associations; and, in short, that he has a much higher standard of life than the European workingman.

The emphasis which is placed upon matters affecting the laboring class indicates the desire of the Republican party to hold this large voting element in line, despite the untoward political conditions produced by the coal strike. There is also noticeable an earnest effort to satisfy the country that only through Republican mediums can the trust problem be satisfactorily solved. It is worth while to reproduce the Republican position on this question, as set forth in the text-book:

> The attitude of the two great parties on the trust question is clearly defined. That of the Democratic party looks to constant agitation, with no restrictive legislation; that of the Republican party to such restriction as will prevent arbitrary advance in prices or reduction in wages through exclusive control, but not the destruction by legislation, or injury by fictitious agitation of legitimate enterprise through great manufacturing systems by which production is cheapened, prices of manufactures reduced, and permanency of employment secured.

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It is not necessary to quote at length from the text-book regarding the position of the Republican party on the Philippine question, because the statements therein made are merely repetitions of fact and argument already well known to the American people. One sentence, however, may be worth repeating:

> That the Philippine question is a troublesome one no one has ever denied. President McKinley so recognized it, and he hesitated long before he decided that the whole archipelago should be ceded to this Government. The question was not decided in the light of commercial advantage or territorial expansion. It was decided in conscience as to the duty of this Government toward the people in the Philippines who had revolted against Spain and our responsibility to the other civilized governments of the world.

The opening pages of the campaign book of the Democratic Congressional Committee are devoted to a consideration of the conditions in the Philippines. The cost of the war in the archipelago is said to have aggregated $1,319,560,832.92, and Mr. Root's figures, $170,000,000, are said to be "incomprehensible." In this connection the following comment is made:

> If we could make a profit of ten per cent on every dollar's worth of goods we sell to the Philippine Islands, it would take us more than a thousand years to get back what we have already expended. If we could increase our present trade a thousand per cent and make a profit of ten per cent on every sale, it would about defray the cost of maintaining there two regiments of American soldiers. Some of our military officers say that it will be necessary to maintain there an army of from 30,000 to 50,000 men. An army of 30,000 men, kept there for a single year, would consume the profits on our present exports for one hundred and fifty years.

The "water cure" and other tortures in the Philippines are severely condemned, and General Smith is bitterly denounced for his orders to "kill and burn." It is alleged that the courts-martial in the islands were farces, and that cruelty was permitted and encouraged. The point is made, however, that "these are the crimes of war and imperialism," and it is stated in italics that "they are not the crimes of the great body of American soldiers." In order clearly to emphasize this distinction this paragraph is added:

> Democrats have not denounced our soldiers who have been fighting with heroic fortitude in the Philippine Islands. They have simply condemned the bloody, cruel, and criminal policy which sent them there; and they have condemned the negligence and indifference of the authorities who control the conduct of this war in imposing no proper restraint upon the lawless elements that are to be found in every army.

The text-book also asserts that the whole history of labor legislation shows Republican opposition, while the Democrats have favored the demands of labor. Subsidies are opposed, the referendum and initiative indorsed, the "Republican conspiracy" against Admiral Schley con-

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demned, and, in a discussion of wages and prices, much stress is laid upon the fact that, while wages have apparently not decreased, the purchasing power of the dollar, owing to the high cost of the necessaries of life, has fallen so low as to amount to a serious reduction of the wage-earner's income.

One-third of the campaign book is devoted to an attack upon the tariff, which, it is claimed, fosters trusts, while the "autocratic, arbitrary, domineering, high-handed tactics" of the latter are set forth in vigorous language. The hostility of the Democrats to the existing tariff is made manifest on every page. "The tariff ties the consumers' hands while the trusts pick his pocket," is one of the many epigrammatic texts provided for campaign orators, while another assertion is that "but for our absurdly high tariff there would not have been, at least for the present, that great accumulation of wealth in the hands of a few which makes easy the formation of great industrial and transportation combinations." It is contended that there are several practical remedies for the trust evil, including the repeal of the tariff where it shelters trusts, the taxation of trusts by Congress, punishment under the Sherman Act, requiring corporations to make uniform prices for all, and publicity. The charge is made against the Republican party that it has tried none of these remedies, and that the Democratic efforts to secure them have been defeated by Republican opposition. An onslaught upon the tariff is certain if the Democrats come into power; but it is worth while to remember that the Senate will still be strongly Republican in the next Congress, nor is it possible for the Republican majority in that body to be overturned for some years.

Some impression will undoubtedly be made upon the country by the proof offered in the campaign book as to the reduced prices which obtain abroad for American manufactures. The Campaign Committee is, for instance, circulating the following list, showing the advantage which the foreigner has over the American consumer:

	American price.	Price to foreigners.		American price.	Price to foreigners.
Wire nails (keg)	$2.25	$1.30	Clock (alarm)	$0.60	$0.30
Wire rope (coil)	12.00	5.00	Lawn mowers	4.25	2.75
Lead (100 pounds)	4.00	2.00	Fruit jars (Mason's, dozen)	.80	.55
Shovels (dozen)	7.50	5.80	Typewriters	100.00	55.00
Axle grease (pound)	.08	.04	Sewing-machines	40.00	17.00
Washboards (dozen)	3.00	1.70	Bradbury piano	375.00	300.00
Meat choppers	2.70	1.50	Bradbury piano	325.00	275.00
Barbed wire (100 pounds)	3.00	2.20	Tin plate (100 pounds)	4.19	3.19

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The Republicans are attempting to break the force of these marked contrasts in prices, by insisting that foreign markets are utilized for the sale of surplus products, but the effort has been only partially successful. They are handicapped by the position of Chairman Babcock, of the Republican Congressional Campaign Committee, who, as a representative in Congress, has been for two years insisting that American goods ought not to be obtained at lower cost abroad than in this country. Mr. Babcock, too, has been earnest in his endeavor to secure a revision of the tariff which will, in his opinion, correct this inequality; and the Democrats are, naturally, impressing this fact upon the public mind.

This reference to the tariff recalls the fact that in the Republican party there is, at present, a very strong sentiment in favor of revision. The centre of this tariff reform movement is in Iowa and the Northwest. Minnesota Republicans are clamoring for a rearrangement of the duties; one representative of that State even asserting that it would be wiser for the President to call an extra session of Congress to consider the tariff question than to ratify a reciprocity treaty with Cuba. Another Minnesota representative has promised his constituents that if the Republicans control the Fifty-eighth Congress there will be the tariff revision which they so anxiously desire. In the Iowa Republican State convention there was a sharp contest between the conservative Republicans, who were loyal to the principles of protection, and the tariff reformers; the convention finally agreeing upon the following declaration:

> We stand by the historic policy of the Republican party in giving protection to home industries, and point for its ample vindication to the extraordinary rapidity with which our national resources have been developed and our industrial and financial independence secured. We favor such changes in the tariff from time to time as may become advisable through the progress of our industries and their changing relations to the commerce of the world. We indorse the policy of reciprocity as the natural complement of protection, and urge its development as necessary to the realization of our highest commercial possibilities.

As might have been expected, this treatment of the necessity for tariff reform was a compromise which was claimed by both sides as a victory. The fact remains, however, that the Iowa Republicans are not satisfied with the present operation of the tariff, and earnestly hope that it will be revised; and that their hope is shared by many prominent Republicans must be apparent to any observer of political affairs. The tariff reformers believe that if the Republican party does not undertake the task of revision, the people will place the Democratic party in power;

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and, in that event, the new tariff will be framed by the latter. They want Republican revision rather than Democratic destruction. I am rather inclined to agree, however, with the frank statement of Congressman Cannon, of Illinois, the chairman of the House Committee on Appropriations and the chairman of the House caucus, that neither in the approaching short session nor in the following Congress will there be any successful attempt to change the present tariff. If the Republican leaders announce that they seriously intend to enact new schedules, we may confidently look forward to a year of business uncertainty. Manufacturers and importers will alike await the promulgation of the new law; the former curtailing their output to the minimum, and the latter ceasing at once the importation of foreign goods when delay may mean a saving in customs duties. Contraction of trade will disturb the present satisfactory conditions, with grave doubt as to whether material benefits can accrue when the desired changes have been enacted. This view will undoubtedly be entertained by the conservative leaders in the Senate and the House, and any effort to secure a revision of the tariff will be combated with vigor.

Congress adjourned without legislating for reciprocity with Cuba. The opposition in the Senate, composed of senators who represented beet-sugar States and senators who objected to any tinkering with the tariff, was strong enough to prevent action. The President accepted the situation with equanimity; merely remarking that reciprocity was delayed but not defeated. Since the adjournment of Congress there has been some opportunity to learn the public sentiment on the question; and the developments have indicated that this sentiment will sustain the President in his effort to secure reciprocity at the next session. In Michigan, four of the representatives who opposed the President have been defeated for renomination; in Minnesota, whose representatives were also antagonistic, the delegation has been almost disintegrated, and a majority is likely to be left at home. The two Nebraska senators, who were also arrayed against the President, have treated the country to a series of explanations, the purport of which is that they propose in the future to be loyal to the majority of their party and to the President, beet sugar or no beet sugar. As for the President, his addresses almost invariably contain an appeal for reciprocal trade relations with Cuba, and his sympathy for the new Republic seems to strike a responsive chord.

It is probable that the President will call an extra session of the Senate early in November to consider the ratification of a reciprocity treaty

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with Cuba. This would be a wise move, for the regular session, limited to three months' duration, will be crowded with routine work; and that the fight which was waged against reciprocity last session is to be renewed is a fact beyond question. It is too early to predict the outcome of that struggle. Much will depend upon the result of the fall elections; and it must also be borne in mind that a two-thirds' vote is required to ratify a treaty, while a law can be enacted by a majority. The Republicans do not possess this requisite two-thirds, even if the party senators vote solidly, so that some Democratic support for the treaty must be obtained. Notwithstanding, therefore, the efforts of the President and the popular indorsement which his views regarding Cuba are receiving, it is clear that reciprocity is not yet assured.

Some of the State conventions which have been held have had more than local interest. In Wisconsin, for instance, the factional fight between the friends of Governor La Follette and those of Senator Spooner developed so much bitterness that for some time it threatened a Democratic victory. It is now reported that a compromise has been arranged, whereby candidates for the State Legislature favorable to Mr. Spooner's reëlection will be nominated, provided they also indorse the reforms for which Governor La Follette is so earnestly striving. It is to be hoped that this report is correct; for Senator Spooner is one of the ablest men in the Senate, whose services to the country, rendered at personal sacrifice, are too valuable to be lost. He is a man of wise judgment, long experience, and great resourcefulness. More than once he has guided his party in the Senate between the Scylla and Charybdis of opposing views, while as a debater upon the floor he has proved himself thoroughly ready and equipped, forceful and eloquent.

Republican State conventions have, without exception, united in cordial indorsement of President Roosevelt, and many of them have confidently predicted his reëlection in 1904. The conditions which confront the Democrats make it impossible for them to indulge in any unanimity of opinion, except denunciation of trusts and imperialism. Nearly every Democratic State convention has been marked by a serious disagreement over the reaffirmation of the Kansas City platform. In the North and West the financial issue has been let severely alone, and even in Georgia the conservative influence in the party was sufficiently potential to prevent any reference to it. The Georgia Democrats simply indorsed the course of their representatives in opposition to trusts, the colonial policy, and the ship subsidy, and urged that every article of

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commerce controlled by a trust should be placed upon the free list. In Michigan, Wisconsin, and Connecticut — States wherein the Democrats have reasonable hope of success this year — there is a strong disposition on the part of the Democratic managers to ignore all national issues and make their fight purely upon local questions. They realize that this is safer ground. Missouri and Ohio are the only States in which the Democrats have boldly indorsed the free coinage of silver and made it an issue. It is worth while to remember this fact when the returns from Missouri and Ohio are received.

There has not been, up to the present time, any apparent Democratic disposition to make a political issue out of the dilemma which confronts the Administration in its treatment of the friars in the Philippines. At one time the question of the friars and their lands bade fair to be a thorn in the Republican flesh, but there is no outward evidence that it is now a political factor. Some weeks ago there was much discussion of the friars, their shortcomings and their rights. The newspapers were filled with extracts from the reports of Governor-General Taft, who criticised the friars in emphatic language, and recommended their immediate expulsion from the islands. There were lengthy cablegrams from Rome, giving the purport of correspondence between Secretary Root and the Vatican; there were protests against expulsion in vigorous resolutions adopted by Catholic societies; and there were explanations from Archbishop Ireland and other friends of the Administration. When the dispute seemed to have reached its height, menacing the Administration on account of the religious sentiment aroused, Governor Taft left Rome with the understanding that he should inquire into certain details of the ownership of the friars' lands. If this agreement was intended to postpone further public discussion of a delicate topic until after the campaign, its object has been accomplished. The friars and their lands seem to have been forgotten; and if the friars are to be expelled, it will not be until after the elections have been held.

A very remarkable change in political conditions is observable in the Southern States, a section which, during the next few years, will be worthy of the closest attention of every student of national politics.

It has been quite apparent for some time that the action of Mississippi, Louisiana, South Carolina, North Carolina, and, more recently, Alabama and Virginia, in disfranchising the negro population will be followed by political changes of great importance. Framed for the purpose of eliminating the Republican strength in those States, the Con-

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stitutional amendments which made it impossible for a negro to vote have resulted in the creation of a White Republican party. As long as the negro was a political factor, and allied himself with the Republicans, as he was bound to do, just so long was the Republican party in the South handicapped. It could not, and did not, command the support of the respectable element. Its leaders, whose concern in Republican success was due almost entirely to the desire to hold federal office, used the negroes as an aid to the accomplishment of selfish ends. As soon as the negro became disfranchised, many prominent white men of the South, who in secret espoused the Republican principles of protection and sound money, but could not endure association with the negro, openly identified themselves with the Republican party. In brief, the white voters of the South, hitherto solidified through common antagonism to negro suffrage, are dividing. They are free to vote and act according to their view of the best interests of their State and their country, knowing that the menace which they feared has been removed.

President Roosevelt has given an impetus to this movement by his utterances to Chairman Lyon, of the Texas Republican State Committee. He wanted the members of the party in the South to be something more than seekers after office and traders in State delegations during Presidential years. He wanted them to show a spirit of aggressiveness. He desired, in fact, that the leaven of Republicanism should permeate the South, impressing itself upon each community, and, in course of time, resulting in the development of an active organization. The result of the President's advice is already apparent. In Alabama, the Republicans have nominated a State ticket and are waging a contest in several Congressional districts; in Arkansas, a new coterie of Republicans are in the field, attempting to overthrow the machine which for so long has monopolized, corruptly or otherwise, the control of the federal offices; in North Carolina, Senator Pritchard is to lead a campaign upon the issue of protection to the industries which have been so largely instrumental in developing that State; while in Texas, the most Democratic of Democratic States, new life has been infused into the Republican organization and a movement has been inaugurated which bids fair to attract national attention.

For some years, unquestionably, the South will remain solid; but every impartial observer of national politics must see that the seed of disintegration has been sown in the disfranchisement of the negro and the consequent possibility of a Republican party without a black attachment. It is a noticeable fact that in 1896, when the Democrats

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were divided upon the silver question, the Republican vote in many of the Southern States increased to a remarkable degree. The Republicans supported McKinley because they believed in the principles which he represented, even though it meant temporary association with the negro. There is every reason to believe that with the negro eliminated and division invited, many of the white voters of the South will leave the Democratic party. The wave of Republicanism has for some time past been sweeping over the border States, where the negro has not been an issue. Maryland, once invariably Democratic, is now doubtful; and although in the last election it went Democratic, no one knows better than the Democratic managers how much the incident of Booker T. Washington's dinner at the White House contributed to that result. West Virginia, which in 1876 had a Republican vote of only 42,698, cast in 1900 no less than 119,000 Republican votes, and is almost permanently fixed in the Republican column. The Republican strength in Kentucky has grown from 97,156 in 1876 to 226,900 in the last election. Tennessee, which in 1876 cast 89,566 Republican votes, is now credited with 123,000; while Missouri's Republican vote has increased in the same period from 145,000 to 314,000. Virginia's Republican vote has also increased greatly; the figures for 1876 being 95,558 as against 119,000 two years ago. South of these border States, where the negro is a factor in politics, the Republican increase has been but slight; and in some cases, like Florida, Louisiana, Mississippi, and South Carolina, the voting strength of the party has dwindled to almost nothing. If, in these extreme Southern States, the negro is removed from political consideration, as he is removed in the border States, there will be surprising and significant changes in the next few years.

Of course, the negro does not like this new condition of affairs. In Warren County, North Carolina, a convention of negroes recently denounced Senator Pritchard for refusing to appoint negro postmasters in the State; in Alabama, the negroes, under the leadership of the men of the old Republican régime, are exercised because the State convention, recently held, was almost entirely free from negro delegates; and in other Southern States the negroes are demanding that they be considered as Republicans, even though excluded from the polls by constitutional restriction. It seems to me, however, as if negro disfranchisement in the South had come to stay, and as if the Republican party, despite its protestation on behalf of the colored brother, were really to be the beneficiary of action primarily designed to make the solid South more solid still.

HENRY LITCHFIELD WEST.

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FOREIGN AFFAIRS.

ENGLAND more than any other country has of late occupied the attention of the whole world. The sudden illness of the King — an illness which at the time was believed to be mortal — his remarkable recovery, his coronation, and the passing of the real sceptre of power from the hands of Lord Salisbury to those of Mr. Balfour are some of the most important events of the last few months in foreign affairs.

The illness of the King and his coronation have strikingly revealed his personal popularity throughout the world. England as a nation may be unpopular, although, as I had occasion to point out in the July number of this magazine, there is reason to believe that such feeling is exaggerated, and that for selfish reasons no nation is really desirous of seeing England's power destroyed. But for King Edward as a man there is no doubt all the world entertains a very sincere respect and liking. Whatever his faults, they are forgotten in his graces. He has always been the idol of his own people, because he has always been a typical Englishman whose mistakes have endeared him to his subjects. A man of great tact and social charm, he has ruled society not so much by virtue of his position as heir to the throne and monarch, but because he is peculiarly fitted to lead society; he has made himself popular with the masses because, like them, he is fond of sport and has all the Englishman's love of play. Nor has he been unmindful of the more serious duties of his high station. He has always been foremost in all good works and charitable movements; and, although under the constitution he could take no active part in politics, his influence has been more than once exerted in behalf of peace and to eliminate international friction. On the Continent he has always been popular. He has been liked for his frank, unaffected, almost democratic manner, for being what in any man of lower rank would be called "a good fellow," who when he visited Paris or Homburg incognito entered into the amusements of those places with zest, and enjoyed himself as thoroughly as any other man away from home on his vacation. The expressions of sorrow caused by his illness were not perfunctory; the congratulations which followed his coronation were sincere.

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The illness of the King, occurring on the eve of the most important event in his life, was an intensely dramatic and pathetic event; his coronation, with all its mediæval splendor, was a picturesque spectacle the like of which the world has seldom seen; but neither illness nor coronation had the slightest effect on the political destinies of the British Empire or the world at large. The retirement of Lord Salisbury from the premiership was one of the most important political events of recent years; but so securely do British institutions rest on their foundations that what in any other country would have caused at least a momentary excitement passed without even a tremor. There is neither hyperbole nor false modesty but only the exact truth in the description of the situation given by the London "Spectator," when it says:

> Almost in silence, without a jar, with no uproar in Parliament, and no popular demonstration, the command of that huge bark, the British Empire, has been transferred from one hand to another. The ship moves on undisturbed. The crew are all at their stations; there is no sign of alarm, no thought that the course should be altered, the speed decreased, or the destination changed. It is marvellous testimony to the order which reigns on board, and all the more so because the captain who has disappeared was no more than a figurehead.

The equability — it was not indifference — with which the news of Lord Salisbury's retirement was received is a superb tribute to democratic government. Personality counts for little. It is not the man but the machine which is important. Lord Salisbury retires, but the government goes on unchanged because the party is still in power, the party which has derived from the people a mandate which has not been revoked. To follow the "Spectator's" simile, it is merely one officer relieving another on the bridge. The command devolves, but the course remains unchanged, the speed is not decreased, and the destination is unaltered.

With the retirement of Lord Salisbury from public life there closes the career of a man whom the world will always hold to be great, despite the criticisms of his detractors, but who to the world at large will always be very much of an enigma. He was the *doyen* of the foreign ministers of Europe; he had a longer and more varied experience than any of his contemporaries; he was part of the great governmental machine when some of the rulers of Europe were still in leading strings. Yet there were times when his experience, his knowledge, his learning counted for naught; when he was as injudicious as a youngster just out of college; when he said things so brutally frank that all the world marvelled at his want of caution; and when he appeared so indifferent to the interests

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committed to his charge that he allowed himself to be outwitted, and, in making a bargain, gave his rivals everything they demanded.

Lord Salisbury, one of his critics once remarked, "is a modern Elizabethan"; and it was this putting of an Elizabethan mind in a Victorian frame that made him an anachronism. He was always a cynic, always noted for his biting wit, and always fond of displaying it. In his younger days, as a member of the House of Commons, he was frequently in difficulties because of his passion to impale an opponent on his barbed tongue. In his later years this same weakness for saying what he thought found expression in taking the whole world into his confidence. His reference to Spain as one of the "dying nations of Europe" is a sample of his frank speaking. Fifty years ago England, allied with France, went to war with Russia. After the lapse of half a century Lord Salisbury coolly announced that "perhaps we put our money on the wrong horse in the Crimea." Time and time again he has been equally frank and equally injudicious.

One of Lord Salisbury's constitutional peculiarities is a disinclination to see people. Most men of affairs would rather be brought face to face with a man for five minutes than engage in correspondence with him for a month; but with Lord Salisbury it was always the reverse. Even his colleagues, the members of his own cabinet, found him the most inaccessible of men. It seems almost absurd to say that Lord Salisbury is "shy"; and yet it was shyness, which in later years assumed the form of a disease, that made him shrink from public observation and from coming in contact with people. Combined with this has been a supreme contempt for the world at large.

The cabinet still remains the "Hotel Cecil," for, although the chief of the house of Cecil has retired, at the head of the board sits a member of a collateral branch. Mr. Balfour, who succeeds his uncle as Prime Minister, is unlike him in many respects, but still enough like him to show that in him runs the same strain. The new Premier is not without some of those peculiarities which have made Lord Salisbury so different from his fellow-men. In his younger days, when he first entered Parliament, Mr. Balfour was noted for his indifference and his weariness of life. The all-powerful influence of his uncle pushed him to the front, and made him a member of the cabinet and Chief Secretary for Ireland at a time when he had done nothing to justify the belief that he was fitted for what was one of the most difficult places in the Government. Those were the days of the Land League, the days when Ireland was

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practically in open rebellion, when one Chief Secretary had been done to death at the hands of an assassin, and another had been driven out of office, broken-down and disappointed, because he had been unable to make headway against the stubborn opposition of Irish members. Apparently the only man to fill successfully the office of Chief Secretary must be a man of iron constitution and iron will, not a man who was all the time in the hands of the doctors, and who was dawdling through life because there was nothing else to do.

The change between Balfour before he was made Chief Secretary and Balfour after he took that office was one of the most astounding the world has seen. Up to that time he was a weakling — a man who lay in bed until noon, and whose bedroom was littered with medicine bottles and pill boxes. When he took his seat in the House as Chief Secretary; when the Irish members, at first amazed at Lord Salisbury's selection and then overjoyed at the thought of the easy victory in store for them, determined to make short work of him; when nightly he had to stand up to the invective, the taunts, the abuse heaped upon him by his opponents, his weakness disappeared, and the very thing that would have broken down a robust man was to this valetudinarian a positive tonic. He became physically strong and mentally alert. It was a new Balfour who confronted the Irish opposition. He met abuse and insult with a cynical smile, a satirical epigram, a control of himself so admirable that it drove his foes to desperation. Night after night they tried to make him lose his temper, to betray at least a trace of the suffering he endured. But it was all in vain. A man of very sensitive nature, he must have suffered great agony; but he suffered it with the indifference of an Indian. And the curious thing was that, after a while, the very men who had once been his most relentless enemies became his friends. The Irish came to like him and to respect him. The bitterness of battle passed away. He was no longer despised or sneered at. He was recognized as a man of great ability, of great strength, of great firmness. By natural selection, by the divine right of being able to lead men, he became the leader of his party in the House of Commons, and from that position, second only to that of the Premier, he has now become the first minister and the head of his party.

Mr. Balfour's elevation to the premiership is a great blow to Mr. Chamberlain, who cherished the hope that the retirement of Lord Salisbury would bring him to the front as the recognized leader. Mr. Chamberlain is popular with the masses, but intensely unpopular with the

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Tory squires and the landed aristocracy, who are the great controlling force in the Conservative party. For the reason that "the man in the street" has made an idol of Mr. Chamberlain, "the man in the club," who in English politics is a more potent force although he is not so often quoted by newspapers and politicians, despises him. The masses like him because he is one of them — a self-made man, a plain middle-class man, who, beginning with nothing, with no advantages but his own ability, shrewdness, and audacity, has climbed very nearly to the top. The blue-blooded Conservative, the man born in the purple, who traces his descent back to the time of the Conquest and who looks upon it as part of his hereditary privilege to govern England, does not take very kindly to the fact that he is a minor factor compared to this Birmingham screw manufacturer, whose masterful personality has made him one of the most important men in British politics. Another reason why the born Conservative dislikes Mr. Chamberlain is that he was born to his Conservatism and received it as part of his inheritance, just as he did his title or his estate, while Mr. Chamberlain is merely a convert. He began life as a Radical; he was a Liberal when there was a Liberal party in England worthy of the name; and, like many other men, he deserted the Liberal party when Mr. Gladstone drove it to destruction on the rocks of Irish legislation. And for this desertion the Liberals detest him while the Conservatives sneer at him; yet, with it all, Mr. Chamberlain, next to Mr. Balfour, is the most influential man in English affairs. Some people believe that Mr. Chamberlain will yet be Premier.

It is not improbable that before Mr. Chamberlain is Premier, if he ever is, a Liberal may take a hand at the bellows. There are signs not wanting that a reaction is not far distant. So long as the war lasted and khaki dominated everything, the Conservatives were safe. In England, as in the United States, patriotism rises above party. In both countries there are men who glory in being unpatriotic; but Englishmen, as well as Americans, do not believe in the wisdom of swapping horses while crossing a stream. But all that is now over. The war is ended. The settlement in South Africa is civil and not military. It is not unpatriotic for Liberals to try and turn out a government that has been more distinguished for its folly than its statesmanship.

The recent election in North Leeds, by which a Conservative majority of 2,517 was converted into a minority of 758, has put new heart into the Liberals. One might have more hope of ultimate Liberal suc-

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cess if the Liberal party in Great Britain were a party in something more than in name; but, unfortunately for the Liberals, perhaps unfortunately for England — for a change in government might lead to greater efficiency and some much-needed reforms — the English Liberals are almost as badly disorganized as the Democrats in this country.

Nothing is more striking and more interesting than to compare the present plight of the two opposition parties in the two great English-speaking countries. Mr. Gladstone dragged his party to defeat, and not only to defeat but to dismemberment, by his Irish programme exactly as Mr. Bryan drove a wedge into the Democratic party by championing the cause of silver. In the one case, as in the other, a man became greater than his party and forced on his party an issue which the party at large did not want and had not sanctioned. Nor does the parallel end there. Any one who remembers Mr. Gladstone's "passionate pilgrimage" to Midlothian, his speeches from railroad trains and at railroad stations, the frenzied enthusiasm of his adherents, the eager devotion of his followers, his burning oratory, and the detestation he aroused in his opponents, and recalls the same remarkable psychological conditions in which the American people were thrown when Mr. Bryan went touring through the United States in 1896 must observe a similarity so striking as to wonder whether it was merely a remarkable coincidence or whether Mr. Bryan had not taken Mr. Gladstone as his prototype.

The Liberal party — shall I be infringing on the domain of my colleague who conducts the department of American politics when I say it? — like the Democratic party is not suffering from lack of leadership so much as it is from having too many leaders from whom to make a selection. The natural leader, the only real leader, is Lord Rosebery; and if Lord Rosebery would leave his "lonely furrow" and beat his ploughshare into a sword, he might be able to lead an army to victory. But there is the trouble. It is not an army but a rabble that Lord Rosebery would have at his back. Because a man is not a Jingo, it does not necessarily follow that he must turn Quaker. The Labouchères and the Steads and the other Little Englanders have as little in common with Lord Rosebery as they have with Mr. Chamberlain or Lord Salisbury, and Lord Rosebery has equally as little in common with them. One can very well understand that Lord Rosebery would not object to leading a compact, homogeneous party, a party that was united and agreed on a principle, and that could be relied upon to carry out the doctrine of "efficiency" that Lord Rosebery preaches and for the lack of which the empire is suffering. But such a party he cannot summon into existence. There are

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almost as many "groups" among the Liberals as there are in the French chambers. Naturally, Lord Rosebery shrinks from assuming command of this undisciplined levy.

There are other Liberals who might be forced into leadership, but they are anæmic leaders — not men of magnetism and fire, not the men to put spirit into those who follow them. There is no Gladstone, no Disraeli, no man who can excite that passionate devotion which only the born leader can arouse. Campbell-Bannerman and Vernon Harcourt and John Morley are men of respectability and not without ability; but they are lay figures who appeal neither to the imagination nor the emotions, and who are too intellectually cold to arouse that warmth which is required when a party needs to be nursed back into life. There is a great opportunity in England for the right man in the Liberal party.

The renewal of the Triple Alliance occasioned no surprise, as it was generally known, some time before the plenipotentiaries affixed their signatures, that it would be renewed for another term of years. For almost a year past France has been desperately flirting with Italy, which led some onlookers to believe that Italy might be induced to divorce herself from Germany and transfer her affections to France. The friction between Italy and Germany, caused by the tariff imposed by Germany to keep the agrarians quiet, a tariff which bore with extreme severity on Italian fruits and wines, seemed to be an additional inducement for Italy to prefer the friendship of Paris to that of Berlin. The treaty, however, has been renewed; and, according to the semi-official announcement, the terms of the original treaty remain unaltered.

What those terms are in precise language has never been made public, although the world understands that the treaty is a defensive alliance originally directed against Russia, and providing that if Germany, Austria, or Italy is attacked by Russia or any other power the signatories to the alliance will come to the assistance of their partner. Should any of the members of the alliance assume the offensive, then, according to the general understanding, the other members are not bound to make common cause with the aggressor, but are simply to maintain a strict neutrality.

The "Dreibund" was originally a "Zweibund" concluded between Germany and Austria and intended as a menace to Russia. The world has generally believed that Bismarck induced Italy to become a member of the Austro-German alliance as an offset to the Franco-Russian alliance, and because he feared that alliance had been formed to help France re-

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cover her lost provinces. Former Premier Crispi, however, is the authority for the statement that he conceived the Triple Alliance, and proposed it to Bismarck not as a menace to either France or Russia, but as a measure of stability to hold the peace of Europe in equilibrium. Whoever the originator, whether Bismarck or Crispi, the alliance has undoubtedly had much to do with maintaining the peace of Europe, especially among the allies themselves. One is inclined to believe that the remark of a cynical European diplomatist — "the renewal of the Triple Alliance was especially designed to prevent a conflict between the three allies" — is really not so wide of the mark. Although ostensibly the Triple Alliance is primarily directed against the encroachments of Russia and France, which would seem to make it impossible for any of the partners to the alliance to conclude arrangements with either of those powers, it is nevertheless a fact that such arrangements have been made; but to what extent they nullify the basic arrangement, and perhaps all the other collateral arrangements, no one can tell, so involved is Continental diplomacy and to such tergiversation do Continental statesmen resort to carry out their policies.

The world always knew that Prince Bismarck was sardonically indifferent to compacts if their violation was to the advantage of Germany; but it came as a shock even to the case-hardened cynics of statecraft to learn that Germany, after having become a member of the "Dreibund," had treacherously betrayed her partners by concluding a secret pact with Russia, the terms of which have to this day remained unrevealed. Russia and Austria have an agreement in regard to the Balkans. France and Russia have a treaty of alliance. Italy and France have an "agreement," the terms of which have not been given to the world, although there is every reason to believe that France waives any objection to Italy pursuing her hopes in Tripoli, and that Italy acquiesces in French designs in Morocco. Count Goluchowski, the Austrian Imperial Foreign Minister, frankly said the other day that the beauty of the tripartite arrangement was that it facilitated "special agreements between individual powers belonging to different groups concerning specific interests." In other words, probably these elaborate alliances and agreements would be really of little practical value should any of the powers interested find it more advisable to use the sword instead of diplomacy; but their moral value has been great, and has tended, to quote Count Goluchowski, "to fortify the guarantee with which it was at present sought on all sides to surround the great work of peace."

In all these plots and counterplots England is apparently ignored,

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because it is part of her traditional policy, like that of the United States, to avoid "entangling alliances," and only, as Washington recommended to his countrymen, to make temporary arrangements. English statesmen do not like formal alliances and agreements, which makes all the more remarkable the Anglo-Japanese treaty concluded a few months ago. There is, however, an understanding of some kind or other between England and Italy, although it is not dignified with the name of "alliance" or "treaty." It is not likely that it is either an alliance or a treaty in the formal sense of the word as known to diplomacy; but it is certainly a very complete understanding as to mutual interests in the Mediterranean. Undoubtedly England will offer no objection to the reversion of Tripoli to Italy when the break-up of Turkey affords an opportunity for that part of the Sultan's dominions to be gathered in; and Italy, on her part, will throw all her naval strength on the side of Great Britain should her naval supremacy in the Mediterranean be threatened — in other words, she will cry check to France should a combination of the Continental powers be directed against England.

What the value of Italy is from a military standpoint is problematical. The disastrous defeat of the Italian forces at Adowa by the Abyssinians on March 1, 1896, opened the eyes of all the world to Italian military inefficiency and showed that officers and men were alike worthless. It was the most damaging blow to the prestige of any great European power since France, equally light-hearted, set out on her military promenade to cross the Rhine, and found the song in her heart turned to tears by the steel of Prussian and Saxon and Bavarian. It recalled once more Metternich's contemptuous remark: "Italy is but a geographical expression." On paper, Italy has a great navy; and she was one of the first of the great powers to go in for heavy guns. The hundred-ton guns of the *Italia* and the *Lepanto* were for many years famous, and in the navy lists made Italy appear as leading all the world. But these great guns have been declared by the experts to be of little value; and it is a very grave question whether the Italian navy is much more to be relied upon than the Italian army. There is, of course, no comparison between the Spanish and the Italian navies; but our recent little affair with Spain showed that the Latins have not improved as sailors, and that the engine-room, the vitals of the ship, is the weakest part of their organization. Still the Italian navy may be as valuable as the French, who knows?

Although Italy is the partner of Austria and Germany in an alliance

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directed against Russia, it is quite evident that King Victor Emanuel of Italy is determined to keep on the most amicable terms with his royal brother of Russia. The first visit he made after his accession to the throne was that to St. Petersburg, where he was received with the most marked cordiality by the Czar and made to feel that he was a welcome guest. It is not probable that the Czar and the King talked over any matters that will have any direct bearing on immediate policy; but the fact that Victor Emanuel went to St. Petersburg instead of making his first call on his German ally is said to have caused a good deal of irritation in Berlin. The relations between the two monarchs are understood to be not over-friendly; while with his other ally, Francis Joseph of Austria, Victor Emanuel has no more intercourse than he is compelled to have by the exigencies of state. All of which again emphasizes what little real importance attaches to alliances entered into for dynastic or political reasons.

One of the most hopeful signs of the times is the determination of the Government of France to compel a strict obedience to the laws, even if it involves a conflict with the Catholic Church. Any one who has been familiar with the domestic affairs of France during the last few years must know that the church has interfered entirely too much in temporal matters for the good of the state. That whole miserable Dreyfus scandal, which for mystery, duplicity, and villany only finds its parallel in the affair of the diamond necklace, was as much religious as it was anything else.

In suppressing the religious and educational institutions that refused to comply with the provisions of the law requiring registration, the Premier, M. Combes, was confronted with the problem whether he should permit the law to be flagrantly violated or whether he should demand a strict compliance with its provisions. No man of force and character could hesitate for one moment. An effort has been made to convey the impression that M. Combes harshly and unnecessarily put the law in motion to make a display of his power, and that, had a little more tact been exercised, the resentment that has been aroused might have been avoided. But the facts do not sustain this assertion. The majority of the associations complied with the law. There remained a certain number of irreconcilables that, out of sheer contumacy, openly defied the law and refused to apply for the necessary authorization to enable them to continue their existence. Even then they were not summarily suppressed, but notice was served on them that if they refused to comply

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with the law after eight days, they would be closed. At the expiration of the period of grace those that were still in contumacy were closed. What else could the Premier do unless he wanted to make a laughing-stock of himself and give the country to understand that laws were not to be enforced if any one objected to their enforcement?

Exasperatingly slow progress is being made in the Chinese settlement, for which the great powers are largely to blame. The crime committed by China against the civilized world in the summer of 1900 no one will condone; but it is a very grave question whether the crime committed by the civilized world against China since then is not even greater. The Russian massacres on the Amur, the brutality of the French and Germans on the march from the sea to the capital, and the savage looting which marked the occupation of Pekin by the allied troops are not the only counts in the indictment which pagan China brings against the forces of Christendom.

It is gratifying to note that, from the beginning, the course of the United States has been consistent — firm but always just — and that the United States has not sought to profit out of China's necessities. All the rest of the world has not gained much either morally or through the shrewdness of diplomacy; it is the United States alone that has triumphed. Her moderation has won for her the respect and gratitude of the Chinese; Mr. Hay's diplomacy having earned the grudging praise as well as the envy of the other powers, than which there can be no higher tribute. It is merely a statement of the exact facts to say that, but for Mr. Hay, China would have been partitioned, and that, but for Mr. Hay's initiative, Tien-Tsin would still be in possession of the military forces of the European powers.

The transfer of Mr. Wu from Washington to Pekin is either the beginning of a new era in China or else it means that China is too hopelessly steeped in the inertia of the past for anything to break the spell under which she lies enthralled. Minister Wu's recall is either a reward or a punishment. It is a reward, if he is really to be permitted to draft a code for China which shall be in keeping with the practices of the Western world; it is a punishment if he is taken away from Washington because the reactionaries of the Chinese court want to destroy his usefulness.

Lord Charles Beresford once told me that, in his opinion, China must be reformed from within. That is the opinion of other close observers. They have never believed that the sending of missionaries, teachers,

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traders, or even military officers would have the slightest effect on China. It is merely scratching the surface. China is a great, inert mass. It is a country the most hopelessly superstitious the world has ever known. It is a country whose people are without imagination or aspirations. It is a country in which the spread of intelligence is impossible, because it has no newspaper press and no methods of disseminating information or intelligence among the masses. There are to-day — according to the statement of the best American authority on Chinese affairs — millions of Chinese who know nothing of the uprising of two years ago; who do not know that their capital was invaded by foreigners, that their Emperor was forced to flight, that a tremendous indemnity was laid upon the country. How should they know these things? The Chinaman does not read the newspapers; because, in the first place, there are no newspapers to read, and because, in the second place, the great mass of the people cannot read. If they could read, they would not care to do so. What difference does it make whether the Boxers have massacred foreigners or foreigners have massacred Boxers? The condition of the coolie is made neither better nor worse. He must work always; life holds little for him except mere living. So great things may happen; a dynasty may be overthrown or a new one may be founded; the very Government may totter and the capital cower under the guns of foreigners; but the Chinaman a few hundred miles away knows nothing of what goes on.

It is the Chinaman alone who can change this. If China is to be modernized — I do not say "civilized," because, from the Chinese point of view, her civilization is higher than ours — such men as Mr. Wu must persuade their countrymen that it is to their advantage to adopt Western methods. Wu is undoubtedly the most advanced Chinaman the outside world has ever known. Competent authorities regard him as far superior to Li Hung Chang. Li, despite his great abilities and his great craft, was always hopelessly Chinese, always the tool of Russia. Mr. Wu, on the other hand, is an occidentalized oriental. He has the quickness, the alertness, the subtlety of the Chinaman, with the advancement and the progressiveness that are the features of the two peoples from whom he has acquired his knowledge of Western civilization, the Americans and the English. In many respects he is more of a "foreigner" than he is a Chinaman.

China lies buried under the slavish customs and traditions of the past. This débris must first be cleared away before any progress can be made. The malign influence of the Dowager Empress must be overcome. If she had her way she would banish every "foreign devil" from

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the Empire, destroy every evidence of Western civilization, cut off all intercourse with the rest of the world, rebuild the great wall twice as high and twice as thick, cut off the head of Mr. Wu and every other man who believes as he does, and be perfectly happy in the knowledge that China was a hermit kingdom and uncontaminated by the evil practices of the outside barbarian. These are some of the things Mr. Wu will have to contend with when he returns to China. If he can overcome the forces that will conspire against him, he will be able to infuse into his people the spirit of nationality; and, for the first time in its history, China will be a nation. And when that is done there will be a new and great power in the East, and the East may once more write a fresh page in the world's history.

There has yet been no official confirmation of the dispatch, printed in St. Petersburg a couple of months ago, announcing that Great Britain and Japan had signed an agreement guaranteeing Corea's independence and pledging her their support in case she were attacked; but there is every reason to believe in the substantial accuracy of the information, which would be a natural corollary to the Anglo-Japanese treaty of alliance of last January.

That treaty was to preserve the *status quo;* it was a threat as well as a warning to Russia that further territorial encroachment would be regarded as an inimical act; it was to maintain the independence of Corea under the guiding hand of Japan. Both Russia and Japan have set covetous eyes on Corea; and to prevent Russia from obtaining Corea Japan would unhesitatingly, gladly in fact, go to war. It was over Corea that she went to war with China; and more than once since then her relations with Russia have been severely strained from the same cause. Even before she could feel certain of an ally, Japan boldly warned Russia that any violation of the Rosen-Nissi Convention of 1898 would be resented; and since the conclusion of the treaty of alliance with England has given her the powerful backing of the British fleet in Asiatic waters, she has set herself more determinedly than ever to thwart Russia's Corean policy. It is admitted in Russia that Japan has been successful. The special adviser of the Corean Emperor is a Japanese, Kato, who was appointed despite the protest of the Russian minister. When Russia carried her telegraph lines across the frontier to complete her telegraph system, Corea, instigated it is supposed by Japan, cut the lines. Up to the present time Japan has scored heavily.

What Russia fears more than anything else is that England or Japan

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or both will establish a great naval station in the Corea Strait, which would cut off Vladivostock from Port Arthur and drive a wedge squarely between Russia's two bases in Northern China. With Japanese troops in Corea, so that the approach from Vladivostock to Pekin by land might be made impossible or at least extremely difficult, with the Japan Sea and the Corea Strait covered by British and Japanese cruisers, and with a strongly fortified British or Japanese base on the south of Corea, Russia's position might be rendered untenable. Corea, in a sense, is the key to the strategic position, which is the reason why Japan will go to war if necessary to prevent it from falling into Russia's hands, and why Russia will never cease her intrigues so long as there is a possible chance of dominating it.

Russia still hangs on to Manchuria; and whenever any of the other powers need to be soothed, she throws them a placebo in the form of an "assurance" that some time in the future she will evacuate. England is always perfectly content with a Russian "assurance." "'Laissez faire' and 'surtout pas trop de zèle' are the watchwords of this highest form yet known in the evolution of circumlocution." This is Archibald Colquhoun's terse summing-up of Russian diplomacy, and the Russian evacuation of Manchuria gives the chiefs of the circumlocution office full scope for their abilities. It is quite true that Russia recognizes Manchuria as "an integral portion of the Chinese Empire," and solemnly pledges herself to evacuate the province; but there is a saving clause to her pledge. She only agrees to withdraw her troops "in the event of there being no trouble whatsoever (*n'y aura pas de trouble quelconque*), and if the conduct of other powers should not interpose any obstacle thereto." This is a very considerable loophole, which makes it extremely doubtful whether Manchuria will ever again be restored to its rightful owners.

There have been, and are still in progress, the perennial revolutions in the oligarchies to the South of us which, by a misnomer, are termed republics. It is not necessary to explain the reasons for a South American revolution. In the first place, there is never any reason; in the second place, the so-called reason would be quite unintelligible to any one except a revolutionist; in the third place, the reason of to-day would be superseded by another reason to-morrow. South America is an anarchy tempered by revolution. It would be flying in the face of its destiny if it remained at peace.

A. MAURICE LOW.

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FINANCE.

In the progress of contemporary finance the midsummer months of each successive year are a period of singular interest. It is then that there come into public view the forces over which neither human foresight nor human ingenuity can exercise the least control, and yet which are fundamental in their influence on national prosperity. Of all the wealth produced each year, in the modern as in the ancient world, the greater part is that which grows out of the ground; and this is precisely the portion of the world's annual production which is wholly subject to the caprice of nature. It needs but a moment's consideration to see how vitally the financial fortunes of a people depend on this question of the crops. Complete and general harvest failure, in a highly developed industrial state, means, first, the loss of a year's income to the farm community. Next, and as a natural consequence, it means the curtailment of that community's buying power, and hence a large reduction in the purchase of manufactured goods. But this must also, in the third place, involve sudden disappearance of demand for transportation, both from and to the farm communities. If there is no wheat to send to market, one-fourth of the business of the grain-carrying railway disappears; if there is no demand for city merchandise on the farms, freight traffic in the opposite direction will be decimated.

But the railway which fails to earn its dividend will not in such a case be the only sufferer. Loss of expected income by the farmer, and by the numerous trades which thrive with his prosperity, means diminished savings, decreased resources in the banks, and hence reduction of capital available for use in financial enterprise. It is a well-known fact that the enormous borrowing operations in our Eastern markets, through which the huge financial schemes of the last three years have been carried out, were made possible by the placing of Western bank credits at the disposal of Wall Street. These credits were chiefly the net result of profitable crops.

Even this does not tell all the story. Shortage in crops would be followed, necessarily, by falling exports, and falling exports foreshadow

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reduced command over foreign capital. With all the extraordinary recent progress of the United States in her exportation of manufactured goods and of mine and forest products, it still remains true that our agricultural shipments make up sixty-three per cent of our annual export trade. In other words, harvest failure jeopardizes simultaneously the fortunes of the railways and banks, and also the country's foreign credit. Alike in 1901 and 1902, immense sums of capital were borrowed in Europe, during the spring, for use in the costly financial operations of the period. With abundant crops and consequent abundant exports, our own banks can take up such foreign loans in the autumn and carry the load themselves. But if crops are short and the foreign creditor calls for settlement, the American banks must pay in gold, depleting their own reserves at a moment when large reserves are needed. This is what happened a year ago. Human sagacity is absolutely unable to predict the situation. It can only wait to see what the farm weather of a summer season brings to pass, and adapt itself, as best it may, to the resultant conditions.

These are very elementary and well-known facts. The reason for reviewing them in the present connection is that they played a very conspicuous part in creating the caution among conservative financiers which was the noteworthy incident of last midsummer, and in leading to the better feeling of the autumn. The season had, in fact, been sufficiently trying to the financial nerves. Starting out with a devastating drought in the winter wheat region, which cut down the estimate of yield from 410,000,000 bushels in May to 350,000,000 in July, the weather changed to drenching rain throughout the wheat belt, accompanied by extreme dry weather in the Texas cotton-fields. From time to time, even as late as the early weeks of last July, dispatches from the crop country hinted at possible disaster. In some sections of the country real crop catastrophe occurred. In Texas the Government's July "condition percentage" on the cotton crop was the lowest ever recorded. Spring wheat began with an acreage by 4,000,000 acres smaller than last year's, and its condition fell three per cent during July. All this occurred when the stock market was under the highest pressure of forced speculation, when bank returns showed credit resources to be strained more heavily than at any similar period in the last nine years, when July gold exports reached much the largest figure since the demoralized summer season of 1896, and when it was plain to every one that our floating debt to European banks was piling up at a rate which seemed to recognize no limit.

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It is scarcely to be wondered at, conditions being what they were, that the financial markets should have paused with something like dismay. It is, in fact, a truth perfectly well recognized by every one conversant with last season's finance, that the feeling throughout the markets at that time was one of genuine apprehension, mingled with something like resentment at the furious process of exploitation which, at the moment, seemed to be proceeding in utter disregard of limitations of capital, credit, and safety. As usual, foreign critics were not slow to point out the dangerous elements of the situation. Some of them unhesitatingly predicted disaster.

But the cloud passed over, partly, no doubt, because the apprehension had been overdone, but chiefly because the worst possibilities which had been prudently kept in view did not materialize. As the London "Times" expressed it, many weeks afterward, the dice fell kindly for American finance. That the crisis, if it was a crisis, has been for the time safely passed, is to be explained by three cardinal facts. The crops, in the end, turned out as a whole abundant. The foreign markets, which at one time promised such revived activity as would divert from here some very much needed capital, fell into stagnation, which released a good part even of the capital in use in Europe's own affairs. Not least important, the strain on the money markets relaxed; speculators and promoters alike reserved their energies for a more convenient season; and with this relief the money market managed to hold itself in equilibrium. The fact that this occurred along with a season of large profits for interior trade, of increasing railway and industrial earnings, and particularly of unabated demand in the basic steel and iron trade, did its part in restoring not only confidence, but buoyant hope. Each of these several factors in the outcome must be examined by itself.

So far as regards the outturn of the crops, it can now be said that, from all indications, the corn harvest of 1902 will exceed all American records; while the wheat crop as a whole will be, with three exceptions — 1891, 1898, and 1901 — the largest in our history. It was the cotton crop which suffered most seriously from accidents of the season, and which most seriously disappointed hopes. The Government's first monthly estimate, that of June, fixed a "percentage" of 95 for the growing crop, which would have been the largest ever harvested. It would have been the highest rating given in twenty years, except for 1887 and 1897, a figure so high, in fact, that despite a small decrease in acreage, the cotton experts figured out a probable crop of fully 12,000,000 bales. Almost with the beginning of the season, however, a drought set in over some

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12,000,000 acres of the cotton district — not far from one-half of the entire planted area. It affected the Southwestern cotton-fields. The "condition percentage" of Texas fell from 95 in June to 53 in September. The average for the entire country, which began as 95, declined by September to 64, the lowest since the short crop year 1896. Crop indications sank from the 12,000,000 bales, at the opening of summer, to 10,500,000. This was the heaviest blow to expectations since the partial failure of winter wheat, in much the same section, earlier in the year. Nevertheless, even the cotton crop, by indications at this writing, will slightly exceed last year's, and with favorable weather may do better than present promise. The following, then, are the trade estimates of the leading crops, based on the Government's latest estimates of condition, and compared with the Agricultural Department's final estimates in the last three years:

	1902.	1901.	1900.	1899.
Wheat, bushels .	610,611,000	748,460,218	522,229,505	547,303,846
Corn, bushels ...	2,495,081,000	1,522,519,891	2,105,102,516	2,078,143,933
Cotton, bales ...	10,500,000	10,700,000	10,400,000	9,400,000

Much of this favorable outcome resulted from the fact that early adverse conditions stopped short of actual devastation. Experience of this season has, moreover, taught American markets that, with the vast expanse of newly opened farm country — West and North and South — national crop failures are no longer easy possibilities. The whole productive area of Europe might be easily placed within the geographical boundaries of America's farm area, leaving great cultivated regions still outside; and crop failures which affect even the whole of Europe are by no means usual occurrences. Twice only in the last generation — in 1879 and 1897 — could it be said that Europe's crops as a whole had met disaster; and such possibilities are growing still more remote in the United States. Apparently the corn failure of 1901 would upset the principle; but corn, the northern and southern boundaries of whose acreage are relatively near together, will always remain as a whole the most vulnerable crop in the United States. Happily it escaped unscathed this year.

I have mentioned the action of the foreign markets as an important factor in saving our own market from a strain that at one time seemed unavoidable. In fact, the popular view regarding a possible "boom" on the English markets, which was taken by the average Wall Street

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oracle, was extremely singular. During the months of April and May, while the Transvaal peace negotiations were in progress, it was a common argument that, when peace was actually announced, a furious speculation for the rise would begin on Europe's markets, and that the movement would extend by sympathy to our own. Now it was not in all respects unreasonable to expect some revival of the foreign markets. But it should have been manifest, to any one taking the trouble to reflect a moment on the matter, that expansion in trade and speculation on the London market would attract to that centre, and retain there, very large sums of capital which had been released during the three-year period of dulness. Now it was perfectly well known that in our own operations of last spring we had been compelled to call very heavily on British capital. Securities, to an enormous aggregate value, had been sent abroad to be "carried" in London through the loans of the London banks. If a wild advance in mine stocks or in the London market generally had occurred, nothing could be more certain than that this capital would have been recalled for its own use by London.

The recognition of this fact was one striking reason for the apprehension in our market of the spring; but the expected did not happen. To the general public, nothing could seem more reasonable than the belief that, when the war in South Africa was over, the shares of the Transvaal gold-mine companies would rise with great rapidity. Undoubtedly outside speculators all over England had been buying the shares, throughout the spring, on precisely that expectation. What was not carefully observed, however, was the fact that other and shrewder buyers, who had entered the market when the scale of prices ruled much lower, had been waiting for the rise in May and June to sell.

It had been suspected by the shrewder watchers of the situation that there would be disappointments in this matter. But few imagined such a complete reversal of the market's hopes as actually occurred. Beginning in the very week of the peace announcement, at the opening of June, prices for Transvaal mining shares on the London market yielded with great rapidity. There was no recovery of any consequence. In fact, the decline was so severe as to cause failures of banking houses of the minor sort in several weeks during the worst of the London strain. British consols declined along with mine shares, and, as the season went on, other elements of discouragement presented themselves.

The announcement that France must issue a large loan, in response to which capital would be diverted from London to Paris, had a distinctly bad effect. Hardly had the South African treaty of peace been

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signed, when labor trouble broke out among the African mines, and the monthly rate of increase in production was diminished. This may be seen from the following table showing the output of the mines during the first eight months of 1902:

TRANSVAAL GOLD OUTPUT.

	Ounces.		Ounces.
January	70,340	May	138,602
February	81,405	June	142,780
March	104,127	July	149,179
April	119,588	August	160,000

A year ago, when mining began to be resumed, it was predicted in London that, by the autumn of 1902, pretty nearly the full production would have been resumed. But full production, as measured by the month of August, 1899, was 459,709 ounces. The value of that output was $9,194,000; the value of August's product this year was but $3,200,000.

Events at the mines were, however, only an incident in the disappointing failure of English finance and industry to revive. The French economist, M. Leroy-Beaulieu, has stated the case impartially and correctly in his remark that, with the payment for unsettled war accounts still outstanding against its Treasury, and with an expenditure of twenty to thirty millions more in sterling necessary to put even the Transvaal mines in order, "some considerable time must still elapse before Great Britain again becomes the inexhaustible reservoir of capital which it was before the war." In the prediction that a long and heavy reckoning would be left to pay, even after the peace, Sir Michael Hicks-Beach has fully concurred. The summer in financial England, therefore, and in a measure throughout Europe, has been a season of liquidation. The capital thereby released was placed, fortunately for our financiers, at the service of American enterprise.

Freed from the strain of a sudden recall of capital to an active foreign market, and freed also, as I shall presently show, from the abnormal demands of company promoters which marked 1901 and 1900, the American money market became a less serious source of apprehension. But, as the season drew on, it became manifest that the market was weighed down, not by borrowing for new undertakings, but by the load imposed by projects started months ago and uncompleted. Capital, so to speak, was waterlogged. Even at the close of August, after a relatively quiet summer, the New York banks reported loans greater by $15,000,000 than the huge total of a year before, and $93,000,000 above the same date in 1900. With the resultant drag on bank liabilities, cash

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reserves at the New York institutions were $10,000,000 less than a year before, and $9,000,000 under the total of August, 1900. There were few weeks this year, even during the quiet summer months, when it could not be said that the surplus reserves of the New York banks were at the lowest figures reached since 1893.

Late in July the Banking Department of New York State published the statement of the trust companies for the previous half-year. As it is only at this semi-annual period that these companies issue statements, the figures possess more than ordinary interest. Comparison was naturally made with the same date of 1901. As compared with the figures of that time, it was shown that loans of these institutions had increased $82,394,000; deposits, $84,483,000; cash on hand, $1,600,000; and cash on deposit with other institutions, $11,100,000. The increase in cash on hand and on deposit was in a ratio about the same as the increase in the deposit fund, so that it could not be said that the position of the institutions had weakened during the twelve months ending this midsummer. This was somewhat reassuring; for in the corresponding period a year before, while deposits had increased no less than $221,680,000, cash on hand or on deposit had actually decreased $25,705,000.

On the other hand, it must be pointed out that all the relatively conservative showing in the reports of last July, as compared with a year before, came from the operations of the last half of 1901. Comparison with the half-yearly statements of last December makes a different showing. During the subsequent six months — the first half of 1902 — while they added $94,000,000 to deposits, cash in reserve or on deposit elsewhere increased barely $8,000,000, and cash on hand only $623,000.

Exactly the same story was told in the season's reports of the national banking system. On July 16, statements from all these institutions were called for by the Comptroller of the Currency. The figures, when compiled, showed the ratio of reserves to liabilities to have been steadily contracting, the July percentage being considerably below both that of April's returns and that of a year ago; reaching, in fact, the lowest average for the period in a decade. By the statement of July, 1901, cash holdings of the 4,165 national banks then in the system footed up $540,800,000. Their reports, prepared in the same month of 1902, when their number had increased to 4,535, made a somewhat better showing; the total cash holdings then being $571,116,000. But in the meantime outstanding loans had made the huge increase of $264,953,000.

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Nor does this tell everything. The so-called "country banks," meaning the institutions outside the larger commercial cities, made the following comparisons:

	Loans.	Individual deposits.	Cash.	Percentage reserve to liability.
July, 1902	$1,490,561,432	$1,634,640,741	$144,038,221	26.67
July, 1901	1,315,198,782	1,468,065,182	134,076,054	28.95
Increase	$175,362,650	$166,575,559	$9,962,167	

In other words, these interior institutions, which had for months been hurrying all their spare cash to the New York banks for use in that rather needy market, were less prepared to provide for the autumn cash requirements of their own harvest districts, in the middle of 1902, than they were in 1901, when there were no such crops to move. It was clear that the money situation could not comfortably endure such gold exports and such domestic cash withdrawals as distinguished the fall of 1901. September, when the currency sent by Western banks in the spring to Eastern markets is needed for use in the harvest district, is always the period of test. If we suppose that thirty or forty millions in actual cash are needed for such purposes; if we also assume that the Western banks have credits to that amount in the Eastern markets, that they cannot provide for the farmers out of the cash reserved at home, and that the Eastern banks also have used all these Western credits in the Eastern market, the situation is plain enough.

The above assumptions are, moreover, all correct. Last autumn a sum of upward of $30,000,000 net is known to have left New York for the interior during September, October, and November. Western bank money was as much a factor in Wall Street, during the spring of 1902, as it was a year before. The July national bank returns to the comptroller showed the ratio of cash reserves to liabilities in the Middle West to be three per cent lower than a year before; in the farther West six per cent lower; in the South three per cent lower. Finally, surplus reserves of New York banks, at the close of August, were $9,700,000, against $11,900,000 in 1901. In the second week of September they virtually disappeared, the showing then being the weakest for the period since 1890. The case was clear.

To avoid distress arising from the resultant drain — which, even if temporary, may be severe — there are three expedients. The Eastern banks may cut down their loans and liabilities; the Treasury, through

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bond-redemption or through an actual deficit, may pour out its surplus on the market; or gold may be drawn from Europe. The first expedient could not be employed on a scale sufficiently large to restore equilibrium. Something had been expected from the Treasury, chiefly because of the laws enacted during April, which cut down yearly internal revenue $72,000,000 further, and increased appropriations by at least $20,000,000. The entire public surplus, during the fiscal year ending with last June, was $92,000,000: it seemed reasonable, then, to suppose that no surplus whatever could occur this year, and that a deficit was possible. But the calculation missed one salient point.

I showed, in the last number of this magazine, that the unparalleled domestic consumption of commodities, notably steel and iron, had caused, even in the spring, continuous increase in the import trade. This increase was even larger later on. In July, internal revenue, as a result of the tax-reduction law, decreased $6,700,000 from 1901; but customs receipts increased $3,200,000. In August, while internal receipts declined $4,500,000, customs expanded $5,100,000. In the first half of September, customs receipts rose four times as rapidly as internal receipts declined. New York, where most of the customs revenue is paid, was drawn upon very heavily. The Government took $4,000,000 from that city's banks in the closing week of August, and $12,000,000 in the first half of September.

For reasons which I set forth in the preceding number, the redemption of government bonds by the Treasury, Mr. Gage's usual expedient, had ceased entirely; therefore this automatic source of releasing the Treasury's accumulated money was no longer in operation, and Secretary Shaw was resolved, quite properly, that it should not be resumed. In fact, since the forced redemption of government bonds by the Treasury had ceased, prices for these bonds had declined substantially, and bank-note circulation had again begun to increase. The total circulation, which had reached in June its minimum of $356,672,000, increased $2,300,000 during July, and $2,300,000 more in August. The Secretary then proposed to officers of the banks that note circulation should be utilized for the relief of the money market. His theory was that if enough of the new circulation could be taken out, notes could be used in place of legal tender for harvest purposes, and the drain on bank reserves be at least mitigated.

There were, however, two very practical obstacles in the way of such achievement. In the first place, government bonds were hard to obtain

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in quantity, except at such a price as rendered their use for temporary purposes undesirable. On the other hand, the question came up rather pertinently as to how much use the new bank notes, which are not issued in less than $5 denominations, could serve in the harvest region.

There was left the possibility of relief through imported gold, and in this regard the outlook for ample crops was of the highest consequence. With the prospect of large agricultural exports, and with the demand for capital in Europe as light as I have already shown it to be, the financial community settled down to the more or less comfortable assurance that not only would European lenders fail peremptorily to call in the heavy loans made by them in the spring to American borrowers, but that gold, in the nature either of payment for our grain or of advances to our financiers, would be sent to make good our Eastern bank reserves. The London estimate current at the opening of September was that at least $30,000,000 could be spared. It is sufficiently obvious, however, that unless an unprecedentedly heavy export of agricultural produce should occur, our debt to Europe, at the conclusion of the season, will be larger, not smaller, than to-day's. Under similar circumstances, twenty years ago, the European public bought our stocks. It has not done so this year.

The agricultural export movement, on which so much depends this autumn, showed in the summer how little, as compared with a year ago, that trade has contributed toward paying our foreign debits. This is the showing for the midsummer months:

WHEAT EXPORTS.

	1902 — bushels.	1901 — bushels.	1900 — bushels.
May	9,576,367	15,857,058	9,299,934
June	7,286,897	12,863,155	8,833,625
July	8,517,852	18,460,991	5,550,895

CORN EXPORTS.

	1902 — bushels.	1901 — bushels.	1900 — bushels.
May	453,348	10,585,868	18,705,084
June	595,399	10,845,166	14,431,427
July	518,351	6,999,028	15,991,745

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COTTON EXPORTS.

	1902 — bales.	1901 — bales.	1900 — bales.
May	268,721	411,447	250,488
June	176,270	231,996	147,222
July	125,994	235,237	156,008

The story of decreased values is even more impressive. Taking all agricultural exports — oats, barley, rye, provisions, and oils, in addition to the above-named commodities — the decrease in the value of exports, during the three months in question, was no less a sum than $57,000,000. What should especially be noticed is that not only corn, whose crop of 1901 fell short, but wheat and cotton, ran this season far below their export record of 1901. Exports of other than agricultural products held to the level of 1901, but this was solely because of the larger copper shipments.

This reduction of our export trade may be expected to cease when the autumn crops move out in quantity. The import trade is another story. In June, imports of merchandise increased $4,300,447, making an increase of $79,739,143 for the fiscal year. In July, the increase over a year ago was $6,110,608. Of the July increase, which was typical, $2,764,000 was in manufactured goods and $3,096,000 in foreign material for use in manufacture. Most noteworthy of all is the fact that imports of iron and steel alone increased $2,204,000. This was the true cause of the remarkable increase in the customs revenue which had so considerable an influence on the Treasury's attitude toward the money market. Incidentally it may be observed that this American demand for foreign iron had substantial influence in helping out English trade from its worst depression.

The iron was needed simply because our mills could not produce enough to provide for the immediate and pressing needs of consumers. This demand for iron, during the season just past, was not restricted, as it largely was in the "boom" of a generation ago, to buying for railway purposes. The laying of new rails and the building of new bridges have formed an important part of the railway operations of the year. But the striking phenomenon of the season has been the immense increase in the use of structural iron. The erection of iron buildings has continued throughout the country at a rate without parallel in the history of the world. One of the incidents in the combinations of the summer was the formation of a huge corporation with $65,000,000 capital, in the

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nature of a "building trust," to combine a company formed for structural work with three or four large corporations dealing in real estate, and to secure, through its widely extended operations and its connections with the steel corporation, the ready obtaining of material and the prompt completion of work. But even this rapid increase in construction work was only a part of the phenomenon of trade. The erection of new buildings this year followed general trade activity and prosperity, as it always does.

That railway earnings should have increased while the immense and profitable trade of the summer season was in progress followed as a matter of course. The remarkable fact about this railway revenue during the greater part of 1902 has been the small extent to which the shortage in the corn crop seems to have been reflected. That traffic which would otherwise have been enjoyed by the companies in question did not reach them was of course undeniable; but the figures show that the loss in that line of traffic was amply made up in others. Taking two months of the recent summer, the gross earnings for June, on the leading railways of the country, increased $3,300,000, or seven per cent, and in July $4,300,000, or seven and five-eighths per cent. This happened on a mileage increased barely two per cent over 1901.

In one group of railways, traffic and profits were seriously curtailed by the anthracite coal strike, which began on May 12 and has continued into September. It would be out of place to discuss in this connection the various matters of dispute between the union and the coal-mine owners. Behind the various technical grievances alleged, and behind even the demand for shorter hours or higher wages, it has been manifest from the first that the union's purpose was to force itself to a position of more formidable power. Apparently it has failed, as the strike in the steel mills failed last year. No large undertakings of the sort have, in fact, succeeded, since the same anthracite union, in 1900, won its demands through the pressure put on the owners by the politicians during the presidential contest.

The coal-mining railway companies appear to have lost some six or seven million dollars by the embargo during the recent summer; but that is the smaller part of the matter. Economically this year's struggle is but another step in the working out of the deeply interesting problem whether the consolidation of industries into a few huge companies, with a single management, is or is not to be followed by a similar consolidation of the labor unions.

The coal strike was, in fact, only an incident. Aside entirely from

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the railways, nearly all American industries have added their testimony to the country's great prosperity. No more conclusive witness can be had than the record of the clearing-house exchanges, representing the total amount of checks drawn on the banks of the United States. Since the volume of New York exchanges has been largely governed by speculative operations, clearings outside of that city are alone included in the subjoined table:

CLEARINGS OUTSIDE OF NEW YORK.

	1902.	1901.	1900.	1899.
June	$3,250,010,000	$3,248,940,000	$2,793,408,000	$2,726,496,000
July	3,586,142,000	3,287,854,000	2,704,365,000	2,703,322,000
August	3,136,097,000	3,060,987,000	2,523,041,000	2,581,453,247

It was the genuine demand at the back of this prosperous trade, quite as much as the Wall Street operations pure and simple, which created the strain on the money market. Had Wall Street asked new credit facilities in the magnitude of 1901, either the country's normal trade would have been stripped of its resources or the money market would have collapsed under the double burden.

Fortunately, promoters and speculators gave this season's market a reasonable spell of ease. Few new enterprises placed their securities on sale; promoting syndicates were little heard from; some undertakings ready for exploitation — among them, apparently, the shipping trust — were quietly postponed to a more convenient season. What was perhaps more striking still was a movement of some of the large controlling interests to extricate themselves from their heavy commitments in the money market. This could be done by simply throwing their share holdings, or part of them, on the market. But to that course there were two distinct objections — the demoralization in prices likely to ensue, and the fact that such sales might forfeit control of the enterprise. With the problem thus presented, ingenious minds were set at work planning how to retain unquestioned control on a smaller outlay of capital, and how to arrange the securities involved so that they might be sold to the public without upsetting confidence. It is possible that this purpose was in a way to have been served by the plan of converting $200,000,000 Steel Corporation preferred stock into bonds. It was undoubtedly the inspiration of the plan, earlier in the year, by which the great Metropolitan Street Railway property, with its $52,000,000 capital, was leased to a company having no assets, the control of whose stock

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could be acquired cheaply. It was brought to its highest point of development by the Rock Island Railway's capital conversion, placed before the financial public at midsummer.

This company, whose outstanding common stock amounted then to $75,000,000, was controlled by a group of Western financiers who had used the enormous profits, derived by them from the steel amalgamations, to buy up an actual majority of the railway's shares. They found the process costly; during the present year the market valuation of the stock had reached 200. Their holdings were, of course, sustained by borrowings from the banks. Attempts to sell even a portion of these holdings would have made possible loss of control such as occurred last spring in the case of the Louisville and Nashville. In that case wealthy speculators, backed by unlimited credit in a group of financial institutions, bought up the shares with absolute recklessness in the open money market, snatched actual control from the Belmont interests, and then forced a powerful banking house, with large railway interests in the South, to take up the stock from them at an excessive price.

To avoid such hazards, and yet to lighten their load of banking obligations, was the problem of the Rock Island owners. It was solved by a very daring expedient. As presented to the market, this plan contemplated the exchange of $75,000,000 requirement common stock for $75,000,000 four-per-cent bonds of a holding company. The same Rock Island shareholders who had received the $75,000,000 bonds were also to receive 100 per cent in new common stock and 75 per cent in new preferred. Apparently it was reasoned that, although the amount of stock would be increased through such a plan, the bonding of the company and the deposit of its equities as collateral for the mortgage would so far reduce the market valuation of the new shares as to make control comparatively cheap. The bonds, of course, would have no vote. If, then, the average price of the new shares were to be, say, half the price of the whole existing stock, it was clear that only half the capital now tied up in the enterprise would be required for control. The proposition met a stormy reception in financial circles, chiefly because of its boldness in heaping on the company new liabilities with foreclosure powers. Yet opposition, being only sustained by minority holdings of the shares, was futile.

The truth is that this particular conversion of contingent into fixed liabilities was only a sign of prevailing tendencies. Its purpose is invariably the same; it is done in order, by use or misuse of power over a company's finances, to make the withdrawal of capital from the enterprise

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a safe and easy possibility before financial fortunes are on the turn. The same expedient, applied in a different way, was used by the Goulds and Vanderbilts in the later eighties.

The holder of a company's shares is a partner in the undertaking. If it goes amiss, he is the loser. If, on the other hand, he can convert his share holdings or a part of them into bonds, he thereby becomes a creditor, with all the peculiar advantages which a well-secured creditor enjoys. There can be no doubt that the tendency during the last two years either to issue new bonds to secure the capital of outsiders, or to exchange bonds for shares which it is desired to purchase, has been very striking. Indeed the most startling illustration of the movement happened more than a year ago, when the Northern Pacific and Great Northern railroads issued $200,000,000 bonds in exchange for the $100,000,000 stock of the Burlington and Quincy.

This operation has been frequently imitated since. The proposition to convert $200,000,000 shares of the steel corporation into bonds has already been referred to in these pages. One of the striking episodes of the earlier spring was the acquisition, on a similar plan, of the Chicago, Indianapolis, and Louisville. During the summer large amounts of this stock, of which some $15,000,000 worth was outstanding, were bought up on the market by a speculative "pool." It so happened that this railway company controlled an important entrance to Chicago from the South. Its purchase in the market, by the speculators, on the basis of borrowed money, raised the price of the common stock from forty-nine to eighty, and of the preferred from seventy-five to ninety. Having acquired control, the speculators offered their stock to two of the stronger railways of the South. In the end, the Louisville and Nashville and the Southern Railway jointly took over the majority holdings of the Wall Street speculators, paying in four-per-cent bonds at the rate of seventy-eight dollars per share for the common stock and ninety dollars for the preferred. That is to say, upward of $3,000,000 profit was obtained by the "speculative pool" on their operation, and the price which they received was paid in the bonds of sound and powerful corporations.

The experience of the Steel Corporation during the last three months has been curiously interesting. After the vote of steel trust shareholders on May 19, it was generally assumed that the plan of converting $200,000,000 preferred stock into bonds would be carried through. The general features of that plan were described in the last number of this magazine. As it turned out, however, litigation was at once

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begun to prevent the furtherance of this plan. The first of such suits was brought before Judge Lacombe in the United States Court of New York City, asking for an injunction on the ground that compulsory conversion deprived the shareholder of his contract rights, and was therefore illegal under the Federal Constitution. Judge Lacombe took ground against this contention, although admitting that there was no express provision in the corporation charter for the retirement of stock by bond issues. He pointed out that the practice in New Jersey was to amend or alter charters at the will of the Legislature, and that this fact proved the contract right not to be perpetual.

In the ensuing week a similar suit was brought against the steel corporation in the New Jersey courts. Vice-Chancellor Emery, on June 16, granted a permanent injunction against the conversion of the preferred stock into bonds. Judge Emery's reasoning, in a nutshell, was, that every shareholder was entitled to the bonds issued for such conversion, but that none could be compelled against his will to accept any such exchange. If, therefore, bonds were issued in exchange for stock to shareholders who assented to the plan and were withheld from shareholders who dissented, a contract right was violated. Judge Emery intimated that the conversion plan might possibly have been carried out through allotment of bonds to every shareholder, whether he should elect to accept or not. But he made the point distinctly that such distribution could be made only *pro rata*, and that the plan pursued by the Steel Corporation, of engaging a syndicate to provide sufficient extra stock to make up the total exchange of $200,000,000, vitiated the entire plan. It was therefore restrained from operation. An appeal was taken, but this reached the Court of Errors only on the eve of its adjournment, so that the whole operation necessarily went over to the autumn.

The case attracted very general interest, from the fact that law and precedent were clearly felt to be in process of formation. One inference which might be drawn from Judge Emery's decision was that the so-called Reed Act of last spring's New Jersey Legislature, by which the Steel Corporation gained authority, on a two-thirds vote of shareholders, to convert stock into bonds, was unconstitutional and illegal. The Steel Corporation appealed from Judge Emery's decision to the New Jersey Court of Errors, and in the interim its lawyers have devoted themselves to proving that the suit against the company was not brought in good faith. Meantime Judge Emery's decision has stood, and the conversion plan has been blocked.

Taken as a whole, the various questions which I have reviewed as

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the noteworthy landmarks of the last three months lead to a curiously interesting position. We have seen that although the wholesale floating of new and heavily capitalized concerns was checked, still there have overhung the market large amounts of securities which have not yet found their way into the hands of the general public. It was also shown, by the experience of the spring, that the floating debt of American markets to the European banking centres had again grown very large. Yet, on the other hand, the conditions of general trade have been highly prosperous, the harvests have resulted in a promise so abundant as apparently to assure the continuance of material prosperity; the $112,000,000 decrease in our export trade of the fiscal year 1902, wholly a result of last year's harvest failures, will be largely or wholly made good in the next twelve months, and thereby the means of taking up some of our foreign liabilities will be provided. The further question is, Will the large blocks of stocks and bonds, as yet unissued or undistributed, be absorbed this year by the investing public? Clearly the problem of the next few months is how far real capital can be made to take the place of mere creations of paper securities.

ALEXANDER D. NOYES.

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APPLIED SCIENCE.

THE utilization of the resources of nature goes on with unabated activity. A few years ago, in addressing the British Association for the Advancement of Science, Sir William Crookes drew attention to the food problem, and pointed out that some artificial method of producing fertilizers must come if the grain supply of the world was to keep pace with the demands of the increasing population of the globe. One of the principal elements in the food of plants is nitrogen, but it must be supplied in the form of nitric acid or of a nitrate of some sort, such as nitrate of soda or of potash. This is usually obtained either by the nitrification of organic matter, or by the utilization of natural deposits of nitrate of soda. Although four-fifths of the atmosphere consists of free nitrogen, this is altogether inert and unfit for plant food; but now practical success is being attained in the fixation of atmospheric nitrogen and its conversion into nitric acid and thence into alkaline nitrates suitable for the indefinite regeneration of the soil and the nourishment of grain.

The process is simply a commercial application of the discovery, made years ago by Siemens, that atmospheric nitrogen is oxidized by the action of high-tension electrical discharges. In the apparatus of Messrs. Bradley and Lovejoy, in operation at Niagara Falls, large quantities of air are passed through a confined space in which powerful electric arcs are maintained, and this is found to produce nitric acid in sufficient quantities for the manufacture of nitrate of soda or nitrate of potash on a commercial scale. When it is understood that more than a million tons of nitric acid are now made every year from natural nitrates, and that the demand is increasing while the supply of nitrates is diminishing, it will be seen that the possibility of the utilization of what has hitherto been considered the most inert element in nature is a matter of more than ordinary interest. The cost naturally depends upon the charge for the electrical energy; and when this is derived, as at Niagara, from a natural water power, we have the remarkable fact of the production of the ultimate source of the food supply of the world from the mechanical energy of falling water.

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The utilization of the oxygen of the atmosphere is the oldest of all the employments of nature's supplies, since it forms the sustenance of life to both man and beast, and gives the possession of the one thing which wholly distinguishes him from the lower animals — the power of producing fire. At the same time, until recently the oxygen of the air has had its effectiveness greatly diminished by the extent to which it is diluted with nitrogen. With the production of liquid air, however, there has been made available a method of separating the oxygen from the nitrogen by the process of fractional distillation. This will readily be understood when it is remembered that liquid air is really a mixture of liquid nitrogen and liquid oxygen. Since the nitrogen has a lower boiling point than the oxygen, it is found that in any body of liquid air the evaporation of the nitrogen will ultimately leave almost pure liquid oxygen behind.

In the ingenious methods devised by Linde and by Pictet, the cold produced by the evaporation of the nitrogen is used to cool a fresh quantity of air to a temperature below the critical point, so that this may be in turn liquefied by a comparatively small expenditure of mechanical energy; and hence the supply of liquid air for fractional distillation is maintained at a moderate cost. Pictet has proposed the charging of the air with an excess of carbonic acid before liquefaction, since this enables a supply of liquid carbonic acid to be produced by the same operation. The market price of this latter product defrays the greater portion of the cost of the process, the oxygen being practically a by-product. The applications of pure oxygen are limited only by its cost, and in metallurgy and manufacturing chemistry it must find an unlimited market if the price car be made sufficiently low.

As an interesting reversal of the utilization of the oxygen of the atmosphere may be mentioned the development of a practical process for restoring the supply of oxygen to a body of vitiated air, thus enabling the atmosphere of an enclosed space to be breathed over and over again. This has been accomplished by MM. Desgrez and Balthazard by the employment of tablets of sodium peroxide. When the peroxide is brought into contact with water it is decomposed and free oxygen is given off, the sodium at the same time absorbing the carbonic acid which may be in the air. By means of a suitable and convenient automatic apparatus, tablets of sodium peroxide may be dropped into a vessel of water at such a rate as to replace the amount of oxygen withdrawn by the lungs of those present, and the air is thus maintained in a normal condition for continued respiration. The uses of such an apparatus are manifest.

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Thus, for the exploration of gaseous mines or for the entrance into smoky apartments, a small portable apparatus will enable a man to encounter conditions which would otherwise result in certain asphyxiation. While it has been suggested that this method might be used for the purification of the atmosphere of crowded places of assembly, it does not yet appear that it can compete in cost with the provision of adequate ventilation. There are, however, instances in which the element of cost does not enter, and for such the method will prove invaluable.

Since the last quarterly review in these pages material progress has been made in the applications of magnetic waves to space telegraphy. At that time attention was directed to the development of methods of "tuning" for the differentiation of messages sent from various transmitters. The limitations of the coherer, the principal element in the receiver, have been felt, however, to be a material impediment to the development of any system in which it is employed. Briefly, the coherer, which is the result mainly of the researches of Onesti, Branly, and Lodge, consists of a small glass tube, into the ends of which are inserted terminal wires, the space in the tube between the wires being filled with finely divided metallic particles, usually of nickel or silver. The wires and tube form a part of the circuit between a local battery and a receiving instrument, the resistance of the metallic particles, however, being too great to permit the passage of the current. When a magnetic wave, emitted by a distant transmitter, passes over the coherer, the particles unite, or cohere, to an extent sufficient to permit the current to pass, and the battery operates the receiver. The particles must then be caused to "decohere," this usually being effected by tapping the tube, in order that the next wave may be received. It is evident that such a succession of operations forms a serious speed-limit to rapid telegraphy.

In the course of experiments by officers of the Italian navy, notably Castelli and Solari, it was found that the substitution of a drop of mercury in the place of the metallic particles, using terminals of iron and of carbon, produced a coherer which decohered automatically after the passage of the exciting wave. This permitted the use of a telephone as a receiving instrument, and was evidently in the line of improvement. It was the communication of this form of coherer to Marconi by Lieutenant Solari, which, although entered at the British Patent Office by the former, avowedly as a communication from Solari, led to the exaggerated statements in the daily papers concerning the use by Marconi of the work of others. The Italian navy coherer, however, has been found

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unreliable in practice, and is now being superseded by an altogether different form of receiving apparatus. This device, which Marconi terms a "detector," is based upon the action of the magnetic waves emitted by the transmitter upon a magnet which itself is being subject to a varying magneto-motive force. The passage of the wave causes a corresponding change to take place in the strength of the magnet, and the changes can be heard in a telephone or caused to operate a receiving instrument. With such a receiver it is expected that messages may be transmitted at the rate of several hundred words a minute, and this result alone materially changes the aspect of the relation of space telegraphy to submarine cables. In this connection attention may be called to the curious fact, observed by Marconi in his experiments on the steamer "Philadelphia," that communication can be had over a much greater distance by night than by day. This fact, for which no entirely satisfactory explanation has yet been given, may lead to further study of the whole subject of space telegraphy in a manner which shall reveal more fully the fundamental principles on which it is based.

Pending the application of space telegraphy to the commercial transmission of messages, an extension of its present use for communicating between vessels is planned in the form of a floating station to be moored about 110 miles west of the Lizard, and equipped with both receiving and transmitting instruments. Situated at the junction of three great marine thoroughfares leading to Liverpool, Bristol, and the Channel, such a station will prove of great value in reporting incoming vessels; and its establishment, in connection with the American station on the Nantucket lightship, should lead to the equipment of many vessels with the necessary apparatus.

In contrast to the excellent progress which has been made in space telegraphy appears the lethargy of the old overland companies as regards the encouragement and adoption of improvements. In Great Britain the conservatism of the Post-Office authorities, by whom both telegraph and telephone service is controlled as a government monopoly, is as marked as in the days of the "Circumlocution Office" so well described by Dickens. In the United States the name of the Western Union Telegraph Company has long been a by-word among scientific men as a synonym for unprogressiveness and dogged opposition to the introduction of improvements. That this continues to be the case is apparent from the recent correspondence between Professor Pupin and the chief engineer of the Western Union Company. The latter assumes such an apologetic tone and is so evidently on the defensive that his letters have

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only strengthened the case against the company, which evidently fails to realize its moral responsibility to the public to give the best service that modern science can supply.

The work of the engineer in the exploitation of the world is brought about by various motives. In some instances it is the discovery of precious metals or other natural wealth which impels the construction of railways, the cutting of canals, or the improvement of harbors. Again, the improvement of military communication is an active influence in the construction of works which act also as the advance guard of commerce and civilization. This latter motive has undoubtedly been the leading one in the construction of the connecting railway between Orenburg, on the Ural frontier between Russia and Siberia, and Tashkend, in Turkestan. Until now, the Trans-Caspian railway from Krasnowodsk to Merv has not had a rail connection with Russia's railway system; water communication across the Caspian Sea to Baku having formed an element in the connection. By the construction of the new line above referred to, and now almost completed, the eastern end of the Trans-Caspian road is placed in direct all-rail communication with the trunk system of European Russia, as well as with the Trans-Siberian Railway. The result is that Russia is given the ability to throw men and supplies right upon the frontier of Afghanistan, while at the same time the great provinces of Turgai and Syr-Daria, with a combined area of more than 350,000 square miles, are brought into modern commercial relations with the rest of the world. Since these provinces are rich in mineral deposits and agricultural resources, while but sparsely populated, the construction of more than 1,100 miles of railway through them cannot fail to promote their industrial as well as military exploitation.

The use of liquid fuel on railways, to which reference has already been made in these pages, has been followed by successful experiments in the United States navy. Oil possesses undoubted advantages as a fuel for naval boilers; since its use does away with the production of heavy smoke, which often reveals the whereabouts of a ship to the enemy, while at the same time a sudden call from the bridge for more steam can be promptly and effectively met. The great relief to stokers by reason of the ease of firing with liquid fuel is an important factor, while the greater effectiveness of the furnaces is also to be considered. When, with coal firing, recourse is had to forced draft to accelerate the combustion, the tendency is to produce the greatest intensity of heat in

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the back part of the furnaces; this being not only injurious to the boilers, but also increasing the proportion of heat wasted in the uptake. With liquid fuel, the most intense combustion can be maintained and controlled in the front portion of the furnaces; thus enabling a much better utilization of the heat to be secured, without injury to the boiler. The question of cost is always to be considered; but it is probable that the most effective arrangement will be to equip coal-burning furnaces with oil burners, and carry a reserve supply of liquid fuel for use when the maximum steaming capacity is demanded.

The questions of earthquakes and of volcanic eruptions can hardly be said to belong to the domain of the engineer, except, perhaps, as they may influence the choice of situation for engineering works or the design of structures intended to be of unusual stability. At the same time, the use of seismological instruments for the detection and recording of tremors of the earth is falling within the scope of engineering work in various ways. Apart from the value of the possession of records of the stability or otherwise of a definite portion of the earth's surface, in connection with proposed structures, the use of seismometers for recording the vibrations of existing structures, such as bridges, tall buildings, and the like, has been suggested. A number of interesting experiments of this kind have been made upon the vibrations of railway bridges in Japan, by a native engineer, Mr. Omori; and, while the results have not been altogether conclusive, they may lead the way to fuller and more complete applications of the method.

The prevalence of labor troubles, especially in the mining industries, is calling renewed attention to the influence of labor-saving machinery upon the management and control of labor. The original idea involved in the design of a machine intended to enable one man to do the work otherwise requiring the efforts of many is to diminish the labor cost of the product. It is apparent, however, that, with the reduction in the number of men required and the avoidance of the necessity for special skill and for long years of training, there comes also less probability of labor troubles. This is especially true of such difficult and laborious work as the mining of coal. By the use of holing and cutting contrivances, and by the employment of electrically transmitted power, a large portion of the most laborious work can be performed by machinery. It is more than probable that one of the most important and far-reaching results of the coal strikes will be a greatly increased use of mechanical

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devices of all kinds, this for the express purpose of maintaining the number of employees at a minimum, thus reducing the probability of labor troubles to the lowest degree. That this policy may work immediate hardship to those whose labor is thus performed by machinery must be admitted; but that it is also for the benefit of humanity in the main is evident. The whole history of the introduction of labor-saving machinery shows that it is also labor-making machinery, providing more and more occupation than would have been considered possible in earlier times. Every advance which transfers brutal and exhausting labor from the muscles of human beings to the domain of inanimate machinery must be regarded as making for the progress of the workman; and there is every reason to believe that the highest development of the whole race depends to a great extent upon the emancipation of labor by the intelligent application of machines whose original introduction excites a determined opposition.

An interesting example of the labor transformation effected by the introduction of improved methods is that now taking place in consequence of the conversion of the motive power of the elevated railways in New York City from steam locomotives to electric traction. The steam locomotive requires the intelligent care of a trained engineer and a skilled fireman. By use of the multiple-unit system the demands of the electrically operated trains are met by the services of a single motorman, who need know little or nothing about the construction or adjustment of the machinery, who can learn his duties fully in a few months, and whose responsibility is far less than that of a motorman on a surface car in the crowded streets of a busy city. On the elevated railways there are no street crossings to be watched, while an uninterrupted right of way, a clear track, definite stations, and complete signal system, all act to render the motorman's work much simpler than that on the surface roads. This must naturally remove the work of handling the trains from the locomotive engineer and enable it to be performed by any careful man after a brief period of training, notwithstanding the efforts of the present engineers to retain control. As a matter of fact, the work of the engineer and the fireman, under the new state of affairs, is concentrated at the power-house, and a large part of the gain due to the introduction of electric traction would be nullified if labor of that class were compelled to be carried on the trains as well.

The question of steam boilers for the British navy has been brought to the front by the final report of the commission appointed by the Ad-

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miralty about two years ago. The original occasion of the appointing of the commission was the very unsatisfactory performance of the Belleville water-tube boilers, for which the French patentees had been paid a large royalty, and which had been installed in a number of important battleships and cruisers of recent construction. The main advantages claimed for the water-tube boiler are lighter weight for a given power, ability to stand a heavier pressure than the large-diameter cylindrical boiler, greater rapidity of steaming, and especially a greater quickness in getting up steam in case of sudden demand for power.

Although several types of water-tube boiler are suitable for marine use, they may be broadly divided into two classes: the small-tube express boilers, of which the Yarrow and the Thornycroft are examples of British design and the Du Temple or the Normand-Sigaudy of French design; and the large-tube type, as the Niclausse, the Babcock & Wilcox, the Belleville, and others — these latter resembling most nearly the well-established designs of water-tube boilers long used for land service. Since the Belleville was the design which had been extensively used in the French navy as well as in the merchant marine, it was selected by the Admiralty and has been installed in many important vessels. The high fuel consumption, excessive loss of water, and general difficulty of maintenance, however, caused much agitation against the continuance of a type of boiler which might seriously affect the strength of Britain's main defence; and the appointment of the commission was made as much with the object of silencing the critics as of determining the future policy of the Admiralty upon the whole question of boilers for the navy. The subject is such an important one to all naval powers that the report is of much more than passing interest and value. In an interim report, made about a year ago, the commission announced that it considered the Belleville boiler unsuitable for use in the navy, and recommended that no more of that type be installed. Then followed an exhaustive series of tests upon two vessels of similar build and displacement, the "Hyacinth" and the "Minerva;" one being equipped with the old-type cylindrical or Scotch boiler, and the other provided with Belleville boilers. The tests included a run to Gibraltar and back as well as various experiments, and the result is seen in the final report of the commission above mentioned.

While confirming the previous opinion as to the unsuitability of the Belleville boiler, the report is favorable to the introduction of some form of water-tube boiler which may be found satisfactory. At the same time it appears that there is no type of water-tube boiler which can be fully recommended for naval use; and hence the compromise is made of

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recommending the installation of a mixed system, each vessel to have sufficient capacity of Scotch boilers for ordinary cruising and for port service, the remainder to consist of water-tube boilers for rapid emergency service and use in time of action. The water-tube boilers thus installed may be of various types, in order to permit such a development as will result in the evolution of the best form, while at the same time giving a stable basis of steam supply in case of trouble with the new boilers.

Doubtless this plan will stimulate engineers to improve the marine water-tube boiler until a satisfactory and efficient design is produced, and the old form of cylindrical boiler, with its extremely heavy shell, large volume of water, and contracted internal furnaces, will be superseded. At the same time it must be perceived that this is another step in the conversion of the man-of-war into a floating machine shop. In any case the water-tube boiler must be a more highly organized piece of machinery than the old cylindrical boiler, and a higher degree of engineering skill will be necessary to obtain the best results. This is but another evidence of the necessity for more and abler engineers in the navy, and for fewer men who are not engineers. The transformation is bound to come, and the time is rapidly approaching when the sailor will be as much of a curiosity in the navy as the wooden ship in which he had his origin. Navigation is as much an engineering science as is surveying, and the conduct of a naval engagement calls for the same executive ability as is shown to be possessed by many engineers in the civilian warfare of commerce, so that all the conditions demanding a change are present. Indeed, it has been very strongly intimated that an important element in the poor behavior of the Belleville boilers was the lack of engineering skill on the part of those by whom they were handled.

In discussing the development of aeronautics in the last issue, reference was made to the fact that, while immediate results might be attained with the dirigible balloon, the final solution of the problem of navigating the air might, with greater likelihood, be expected to come from the development of the aeroplane. It is altogether possible that the one may be derived from the other. M. Santos-Dumont now proposes to equip a dirigible balloon with auxiliary aeroplanes, both for the purpose of steadying the apparatus against pitching, and also to enable a portion of the effort of the motor to be utilized as a sustaining power. This suggests that experiments of value might be made with an aeroplane such as that designed by Maxim or Langley, originally sustained

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in the air by a balloon, and gradually given less and less support, as experience is gained in its use. The whole problem is so completely bound up with the development of light-weight motors and with improved materials that it is only by some such tentative method of experiment in actual navigation that real experience can be gained.

In connection with the very important subject of the strength of materials of construction, attention is directed to the value of the study of methods of testing. While it is of much practical importance that testing machines should be employed in regular service to ascertain if the product of a manufactory is maintained at the required standard, it is also especially desirable that all the efforts of scientific research should be directed toward the development of new methods and improved products. Experience has shown that an intelligent knowledge of the manner in which a material resists a stress or yields to it requires a much more careful and scientific study than is contained in the mere breaking of a number of specimens in a testing machine, or in a chemical analysis of the ultimate composition. Already the science of metallography has demonstrated the value of a microscopical study of the physical structure of a material, and good practical results have followed. In a recent communication to the French Academy, M. Fremont gives some very interesting results of his investigations into the varying elastic limit of metals under compression. When polished specimens are subjected to compressive stresses certain portions of the bright surfaces are perceived to become suddenly dulled as the elastic limit is reached, and it appears evident that there may exist, along with a homogeneous structure, a lack of uniform resistance to stress, rendering ordinary tests very deceptive. It is altogether possible that if we knew more about the exact conditions occurring at the instant of rupture, it might be possible to overcome the elements of weakness to a larger degree. It has been suggested that by photographing the consecutive stages of rupture on a sensitized film moving at an extremely high velocity, the images might subsequently be reproduced on the screen in a cinematograph at such a reduced speed as to enable the action to be clearly seen and studied. It is quite possible that devices originally intended for amusement and entertainment may thus be included among scientific instruments of research.

Apart from the improvement of materials of construction themselves, distinct progress is being made in the use of existing materials to better advantage. This is especially the case with the various combina-

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tions of metal and cement included in the general term of "reinforced concrete," or, as it is called in Europe, "*ciment armé.*" This combination of materials is an exceptionally happy one. A concrete of good cement and stone possesses a great resistance to compression, with but a slight strength to oppose tensile stresses. On the contrary, light rods or rolled sections of steel resist tension admirably, while buckling under compression. Properly arranged, there can be secured a close contact and union between the two materials, the embedding of the steel in the concrete protecting it at the same time from oxidation and from fire.

The result has been the commercial development of a large number of so-called "systems" of reinforced concrete construction, many of them bearing such a close resemblance to each other as to demand a very minute inspection before the particular twist or bend to the wire which constitutes the difference can be detected. As a matter of fact, almost any combination of steel rods or light bars embedded in concrete will vastly increase the strength of the whole, upon the tension side, at a trifling increase in cost; and there is little doubt that in its various forms reinforced concrete is destined to be more and more extensively used in construction. The small quantity of metal required, as compared with ordinary steel structural work, and the facility with which a light skeleton structure can be run up and embedded in its surrounding concrete offer powerful commercial reasons for its use; while the artistic possibilities are such as to cause the method to appeal to the architect, since it removes many of the structural limitations formerly placed upon the realization of his ideas. Actually, the whole system is a modification, in the light of modern facilities, of the method of the Roman builders who erected many of their finest structures in skeleton of brick piers and ribs, the whole being subsequently embedded in a concrete of rubble and mortar. It has been suggested that the fallen campanile of Venice might be rapidly and cheaply rebuilt in this manner. Any criticism as to the use of such a system in such a place may well be answered by showing that it possesses far greater "sincerity" than was revealed in the rubbish-filled walls of the ruined tower.

Reference has already been made to the rate at which the world's supply of stored energy in the form of coal is being consumed. In the same connection attention has been called to the possibilities which exist in the systematic cultivation of wood fuel. According to the computations of Helmholtz, it appears that, under ordinary conditions of cultivation in Germany, the thermal value of the vegetable growth of a

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given area of land is about $\frac{1}{1477}$ part of the heat delivered to it from the sun. It has been estimated, however, that by the planting of rapid-growing timber in tropical countries, the German rate can be increased about fifteen times, and that about one per cent of the thermal energy poured upon the land by the sun may be stored as wood fuel for subsequent use. Taking 4,000,000,000 acres as available for forest cultivation, and introducing intensified methods of development, by a scientific development of tropical forest land a perpetual fuel product of thirty times the present coal output of the world might be secured.

It might be interesting to compare the relative efficiency of the solar motor, such as was advocated many years ago by Ericsson, as a means of utilizing the heat of the sun. The principal difficulty with the solar engine lies in the fact that the energy must be used as it is generated, as it cannot be conveniently stored or transported. It is yet possible that the great shadeless region of the Sahara may be used to generate power to be transmitted electrically to the shores of the Mediterranean.

HENRY HARRISON SUPLEE.

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LITERATURE.

A LITERARY survey of the quarter just past taxes retrospection severely. The centenary of Dumas, celebrated July 6, though his birthday was July 24, was the occasion of much laudatory writing in the English reviews, and also of the excellent little biography by M. Parigot.[1] The unanimity of all the critics in praise of "Alexander the Great" was remarkable. A curious coincidence brought to light within a single month the early letters of Renan and of Taine. The letters of Renan describe his latter days in the Seminary of Saint Sulpice and his break with formal religion. The Taine letters present the marvel of a man and a philosopher formed at the age of twenty-four beyond the possibility of essential change. In England the sensation of the hour — it has been little more — has been Mr. Swinburne's violent apology for Dickens in the July "Quarterly Review." His outpourings of wrath upon the editors and detractors of the author of "Pickwick" have been matter for parody or regret, according to the degree of respect in which Mr. Swinburne's erratic genius is held. One may also note the auspicious revival of the handy "English Men of Letters" series,[2] with Sir Leslie Stephen's "George Eliot." Mr. Augustine Birrell's "Hazlitt" and Mr. Herbert Paul's "Matthew Arnold" have followed promptly. All are noticed later; but it may be said, by way of anticipation, that Sir Leslie devotes himself to the serious analysis of a great literary production, Mr. Birrell to the displaying of a fascinating and paradoxical personality, and Mr. Paul to illustrating his own vivacity — three modes of treatment which produce very varying results and are suggestive of reflection. At home the deadness of the season and the inactivity of the publishers leave me little to chronicle, though we are rather fortunate to find under the rubric of fiction two books of the quality of Mr. Howells' "The Kentons" and Mr. Owen Wister's "The Virginian." The death of Mrs. Richard Henry Stoddard, following closely upon the reprinting of her novels, "The Morgesons," "Two Men," and "Temple House," recalls her brilliant beginnings and awakens a keen regret that

[1] Paris: Hachette.

[2] Macmillan.

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the talent which gained the sincere admiration of Nathaniel Hawthorne should have missed of its normal fruition. She will be remembered, much as Herman Melville is, less for her actual accomplishment than for the conviction of unusual talent which her works and her personality inspired.

FICTION.

It is the disadvantage of perfect amiability to be as completely discounted. We know so well an old friend's habitual qualities that we take them for granted and refuse to accept him in any novel aspect. Perhaps none of our American writers suffers more from this kind of stereotyped recognition than Mr. Howells. It is so easy to say "'The Lady of the Aroostook,' 'Venetian Life,' 'The Rise of Silas Lapham,' the 'Mouse Trap,' and other farces," and so saying to imagine that one has boxed the compass of his elusive talent. But any one who should take "THE KENTONS" for granted, or ascribe it lightly to the "Silas Lapham" arc of the Howells circle, would go far wrong. For "The Kentons" not only exemplifies Mr. Howells' familiar qualities at their best, but is as well a most keen and kindly satire of American society. Herein lies its difference from other novels of his to which it bears a superficial likeness.

If I might presume to supply Mr. Howells with a sub-title, I would suggest "The Kentons: Some Hesitancies of American Emotion." The pith of the book is this, that in a delightful family from Tuskingum, Ohio, for which America may safely be read, an emotion is so sacred a thing that not only no outsider but not even its possessor may presume to undertake its regulation. The peculiar kind of emotional anarchy that the book illustrates will appear more clearly after the rather slender plot has been outlined.

The especial emotion across which an entire family joins in writing "Private Road" is, in its varying stages, Ellen Kenton's infatuation for an undesirable and underbred young man, her cruel disillusionment, her quest of forgetfulness, and her healing through a genuine love for an amiable and heretical clergyman. The curative process involves the flight of the whole Kenton family from its dearly loved Tuskingum, and its considerable inconvenience in New York and other foreign lands while Ellen is coming round. For this is the gist of the story, that Ellen must come round of herself. The entire family will constitute itself a committee of protection, but it never occurs to anybody to stand between her and her own folly. In fact, her fibre is so delicate

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that her protectors do well to dread the merely sensible course. Her parents are too amiable to realize the depths of Bittridge's vulgarity, too considerate to help a dreamy girl to distinguish between cheap vivacity and frank *cameraderie*, too well-disciplined to forbid Bittridge the house. They fly from him when Ellen has seen his worthlessness; they exile themselves when it is her wish; they do anything but interfere. Herein they represent in small a hesitancy in matters emotional which is peculiarly American and has recently been hit off cleverly by Mrs. Everard Cotes in her vivacious book, "Those Delightful Americans."

If I were put to the proof, I should simply ask the objector to confer English, French, or German citizenship upon Judge Kenton and family, and to study the case of Ellen thus transposed. First of all, it is clear that a trans-Atlantic girl of such adequate breeding and exquisite personality would have had a keener sense of social values. A Bittridge would have hardly won her intimacy. But granting Bittridge his knack of fascination, the family and Ellen would have acted promptly under the appropriate articles of the social code which apply to detrimental young men. Under any circumstances, Judge Kenton and his wife would have taken the matter bravely in hand. Ellen might have met interference with an elopement — the romantic solution, or by filial submission — the pathetic solution. Bittridge might have carried her off bodily, or might have driven her into a convent; the family would have stood its ground, and the book would have been a very different one. To the Kentons of Tuskingum, Ohio, interference was impossible; to Ellen, revolt and submission were alike impossible; nothing was possible but a combined flight and a field for emotion to run itself out.

"Is everybody so, or is it only the Kentons that seem to be putting — well, their affections — where it's perfectly useless?" asks young Boyne Kenton, who, dazzled by the heroes of the Gerolstein school and hesitating between a grand passion and his Americanism, has become the adorer of the young Queen of Holland. His case of confused emotion is in the best style of comedy; and the least suspicion of burlesque which Mr. Howells permits himself in this instance is his nearest approach to satire of his dear good people. In fact, the Kentons, even in their Scheveningen exile for Ellen's sake, are never ridiculous. Their backing and filling about her pathetic figure has something of the graciousness of a quadrille in which the figures are somewhat vaguely understood but the dancers are of the best breeding; and only the youthful and slangy Lottie, who knows the world so far as it is represented by the attentive young men of Tuskingum and elsewhere,

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brings the family within the range of mundane sentiment. "We haven't got Lottie's consent yet," observes the Judge after the parental blessing and Ellen have been bestowed upon the Rev. Mr. Breckon; and indeed Lottie is the only embodiment of social law which the family affords.

Let me hasten to say that Mr. Howells never obtrudes these satirical considerations as he draws to the life these delightful people. He is far more concerned to prove, with the Rev. Hugh Breckon, that "it's hard to live up to Ohio people when you're at your best"; and he presents the Kentons at their best. But he can hardly have been unconscious of the fact that he was illustrating and criticising the essentially American doctrine of *laissez-faire* in matters emotional — a doctrine which exacts all delicacies and all sacrifices, involving, as is shown in the case of Ellen Kenton, the sorriest complications and most poignant uncertainties while as a principle of family polity, as exemplified in the parent Kentons particularly, it leads out into manifold practical inconveniences. But whether exhibiting the Kentons or indirectly illustrating a society without an emotional code, Mr. Howells has never been more subtle, pregnant, and delightful.

In passing from "The Kentons" to Mr. Owen Wister's "THE VIRGINIAN," [1] the suspicion came over me that the Kentons were not so very American after all; that they suffered from an emotional overtraining which was common to Paris and Tuskingum; in short, that they were effete. This, at least, Mr. Wister's plainsmen are not; and the transition from the implicate experiences of the Kentons to the quick-shooting and straight-riding habits of the Virginian and his friends and foes is for the moment refreshing.

The transplanted Virginian and actual cowboy who is Mr. Wister's hero is indubitably of heroic, if also of conventional, make. Whether roping a steer, making love to Molly Wood — spinster of Bennington, Vermont, and schoolma'am of Bear Creek, Wyoming — passing upon a modern poet, stringing up a "bunkie" unhappily caught in a horsestealing way, drawing a bead on a bad man, taming a mutinous "outfit," or before the more dread ordeal of greeting Molly's Eastern relatives, the Virginian is sure of his own mind and of his own deed. I hardly know a more engaging hero. Jack Hamlin grafted upon Jan Ridd and set down among vast plains, deep cañons, and solemn mountains, with a sense of multitudinous cattle and of patient, tireless horses filling a scene sparsely occupied by human kind — this is the larger impression that the book makes upon me. And, besides all this, it is a very hu-

[1] Macmillan.

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morous book, full of Homeric laughter and of the large jesting that of old time pleased the happy gods. It is also a poetical book, with a peculiar elation in the description of the long nuptial days of the Virginian and his bride on their island and with a very special horror where the hero and the author follow the fresh trail of a horse and two men and think fearfully of the two thieves they have left swinging in the cottonwoods. Here are many reasons for gratitude to Mr. Wister, and grounds enough for pronouncing his book a remarkable one.

When that perversity which prompts one to challenge any frank and spontaneous enjoyment wreaks itself upon "The Virginian," it finds surprisingly little to take back from the first enthusiasm. Something there is, perhaps, on the score of art. The novel bears, in a certain episodic character and lack of unity, the marks of its composition from isolated sketches. Much that is entertaining in the mere pranks of the hero might have been sacrificed with advantage to the book as a whole. The story is told in a brave and direct fashion, as is fitting, without either affectation of fine writing or over-emphasis; yet it lacks that distinction of style which lends durability to the merely well-told story. But the doubt whether our grandchildren will be reading "The Virginian" is comparatively irrelevant and surely ungracious while so many of us are indebted to Mr. Wister for a keen and unusual enjoyment.

Biography and Criticism.

It will be very difficult for future contributors to the revived "English Men of Letters" to reach the standard set by Sir Leslie Stephen's "George Eliot." The essay is distinguished by a peculiar sanity which is quite as fully expressed in the plan as in the execution. The great variety of preference among the remaining admirers of George Eliot's novels, the unquestionable passing of her influence, a certain note of resentment and even of contempt in recent ephemeral criticism — all combined to make the revision of her title to greatness both timely and necessary. Accordingly, Sir Leslie Stephen has made the purely biographical part of his study as brief as possible, and has passed promptly to the consideration of her works.

So perfectly just and tactful has been his conduct of this survey that its skilfulness will escape all but alert readers. Nothing could be simpler than the plan. In successive chapters each of George Eliot's books is lucidly analyzed; the crucial moments of each are referred to standards of likelihood and common sense; the specific attraction of each suf-

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ficiently determined; and the relation of each to the life of the author described. All this seems inevitable and almost commonplace; and yet I cannot recall in modern English criticism an instance of so sound and consistent a method pursued so unfalteringly. The art of this kind of composition, in fact, is far better understood in France; and Sir Leslie Stephen's gift of expressing a sober judgment with due vivacity again recalls the perfected art of scholarly criticism as it is there practised. More than once in reading and re-reading this volume I have been reminded of the solid and accomplished criticism of M. Gaston Paris, particularly of his "Penseurs et Poètes." If Sir Leslie will embody in a new edition certain admirable paragraphs on George Eliot's style from Mr. W. C. Brownell's "Victorian Prose Masters," his study will become as nearly definitive as criticism can aspire to be.

Few readers who approach George Eliot with open mind and have divested themselves of the vague humanitarianism that vitiated contemporary appreciation of her novels, will fail to concur in Sir Leslie Stephen's conviction that her early books, "Scenes from Clerical Life," "Adam Bede," "The Mill on the Floss," and "Silas Marner," are her most perfect and permanently valuable works, while her later productions represent in varying degrees the perversion or decadence of her genius. This view reduces her really creative period to the five years immediately following her union with Lewes, the thirty-sixth to the forty-first; and involves the depreciation of works like "Romola," "Middlemarch," and "Daniel Deronda," upon which she lavished infinite toil. Yet this view is certainly correct, and I can take issue with Sir Leslie only for his rather grudging praise of "Middlemarch" — a human document, as the cant goes, of very nearly the first order; nor have I space to do more at this time than refer the reader to Mr. Brownell for a more comprehensive appreciation of that remarkable book. While Sir Leslie in this case yields to a certain temperamental impatience with the later George Eliot, his demolition of "Romola" is an exemplary act of righteous judgment; and those who may have suspected him of a certain condescension toward his subject should remember that on the whole no more enthusiastic appreciation of the "Mill on the Floss" than his is likely to be written.

I bring from the reading of Sir Leslie Stephen's genial study the feeling that to Mary Ann Evans all the greater experiences of life came tardily. Her struggle for religious emancipation filled the precious years from twenty-two to thirty. In these years, when her mind should have been in the mood of affirmation, she was quarrelling with her father

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about going to church, taking counsel of strange radicals and schismatics at Coventry, and running the gamut of creeds, philosophies, and social nostrums. At a time when her fresh enthusiasm should have spent itself upon creative writing, she was drudging out her translation of Strauss's "Das Leben Jesu." Love came to her at thirty-five and found her already a middle-aged woman. Under the quickening influence of the versatile Lewes, she wrote her juvenilia in her late thirties. Literary genius has seldom shown a more pathetic instance of retarded flowering. Often, indeed, men and women have first written in middle life, when their youth has been passed in unconscious preparation. Miss Evans' experiences tended to produce a noble character and to reinforce an extraordinary intelligence; but they equally tended to rob her life of that zest and confidence without which genius lacks its wings. In certain aspects she recalls the great melancholy poets, but without their audacity. When I think of her laboriously constructing a monumental failure in "Romola," I picture a Milton approaching "Paradise Lost" with the "Hymn to the Nativity" and "Comus" unwritten, or Dante, shorn of the "Vita Nuova," setting himself to write the "Divine Comedy." The loss of one's youth is irreparable, and the wisdom of experience can seldom wholly energize a life to which its due and timely share of joy and courage has been denied. Says Mr. Brownell in his most conscientious manner: "Her thinking was eclectic and shows the lack of comradeship, of harmony and accord, of those fostering influences of concert under which thought flowers in luxuriant spontaneity."

This will probably be very nearly the ultimate view of George Eliot the woman; and it will explain why, in some respects the greatest of woman writers, her achievement is distinctly less congruous and impressive than that of Madame de Staël, Mrs. Browning, or George Sand, whose superiority she fully recognized. Why the development of a great writer and the making of a beautiful soul should be even partially incompatible is one of the more tragic mysteries. I can only stand by the fact. If this interpretation of George Eliot's character be correct, her idyllic novels, from "Scenes from Clerical Life" to "Silas Marner," must be regarded as precious salvage from the wreck of an overfreighted but undermanned argosy. Such a judgment, grotesque as it may seem at first, gains reasonableness when we consider that marvellous period in which, living in the glamour of a belated youth, she for once spoke freely and in her natural idiom — the five years after she had cast in her lot with Lewes, when she wrote from the quickened memory of her childhood scenes.

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It was six years before George Eliot had fully turned again from this happy retrospection to systematic reflection. When I wish to represent to myself vividly the fact which explains the great inequality between her earlier and her later works, I am fain to borrow a hint from the Baconians and insist that whereas the novels from "Romola" onward are George Eliot's, those from "Silas Marner" backward bear the authentic marks of that far rarer and too briefly manifested genius which was vouchsafed to Mrs. George Henry Lewes.

Readers of the FitzGerald Letters — and everybody ought to belong to that class — will remember how Old Fitz composed what he habitually called his "works." From a favorite volume — Crabbe's "Tales" or "Clarissa Harlowe" — he would strip off and out all the pages and sections that seemed to him distasteful or superfluous. The bristling remains, by the aid of the binder, became his newest *opus*. In running over Mr. Augustine Birrell's "William Hazlitt," I was reminded of this kind of a work. Fully half the book is made up of extracts from Hazlitt or his contemporaries, and the author's part is quite obviously interstitial. I was on the point of dismissing the book with the comment "*Hazlitt cum Birrello*" when it occurred to me that the blend should be delectable, and so indeed it proved. The constant amenity of Mr. Birrell's style, his comment, always just if frequently somewhat perfunctory, was precisely the background for those shreds of Hazlitt's passions and opinions which give the pages their life and color.

So enjoyable is the book as a whole, and so skilful the exhibition of Hazlitt's peculiar excellences, that one hesitates to remind so amiable an expositor as Mr. Birrell that his contribution of ideas to the total performance is strangely slight, his contribution of criticism *nil*. We reasonably wish to know not only what was the nature of Hazlitt's achievement, but what was its value. Is he valuable chiefly for the vividness of his sensations and the brilliancy of his style, or was there something more rare and specific in his contribution — like the inspirational flash of Coleridge at his best, the artfulness and eloquence of De Quincey, or the sustained clairvoyancy and personal charm of Charles Lamb? On these points, Mr. Serjeant Talfourd, who also lies dismembered in this book, writes more in fifteen pages than Mr. Birrell in a hundred odd pages.

It would be impossible in a few words to resolve the problem that Mr. Birrell has evaded. I may at least state its terms: What was the peculiar perversity that made Hazlitt, as Stevenson remarked, "the English writer who has had the scantiest justice"? Why are Brougham,

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Mackintosh, and Jeffrey safely embalmed in the "British Essayists," while Hazlitt, more brilliant than any of them, is still awaiting an adequate edition? It is, of course, as difficult to answer this as to tell why one person is born with a genius for happiness and another with a ruling capacity for misery. Hazlitt had all the misery which comes from failure in a chosen vocation, which, barring an excursion into painting, he took in his case to be philosophical speculation; and he accordingly despised the facile success which came to him as a miscellaneous writer. This success was considerable. The "London Magazine," the "Examiner," the "Times," the "Edinburgh Review," among others, welcomed his contributions, and, as things went, paid for them handsomely. Whether he descanted on the play, on pictures, on the old poets, on rackets, or prize fighting, he never lacked an editor or an appreciative public. If he had enemies, they feared him almost as much as he hated them; and he had friends as inspiring as Coleridge and as constant as the Lambs. How, out of all the ordinary materials of happiness, did he always contrive to express bitterness?

The answer seems to be, in general, that he suffered as all persons must who have ardent temperaments and quivering sensibilities unattached to a cause or a philosophy. He had the passions and vanities of a Rousseau, without Rousseau's gospel of a return to nature. He had enough of his clergyman father's conscience to impede the free exercise of his passions, not enough to subdue them to the service of an ideal. His very enthusiasm for freedom grotesquely attached itself to the destinies of the tyrant Napoleon; and he preferably existed, as he said of Byron, "not by sympathy but by antipathy." Americans need not resent his childish discontent with his Massachusetts home — "it would have been a great deal better if the white people had not found it out," he said; but everybody will marvel at the perversity which added to the squalor of a discreditable infatuation the dishonor of utilizing it as "copy"; at the posthumous calamity that denied him Robert Louis Stevenson as a biographer. He, it is known, had begun this task with enthusiasm, and relinquished it only after the unfortunate republication of the "*Liber Amoris.*"

But this unashamed emotionalism is Hazlitt himself. His intellect, whatever was his own opinion thereof, merely served as majordomo in his house of life, and supplied due order and adornment to his sentimental feasts. Gusto, as Mr. Birrell well observes, was lord of the home. Of course, De Quincey's taunt — "Hazlitt had read nothing . . . whence should Hazlitt have had the materials for great thinking?" — is unfair

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almost to malice; but it is true that Hazlitt avails much more because he felt intensely than because he thought greatly. In this respect he is of the tribe of Byron and Chateaubriand. And it is interesting to inquire why posterity should agree that the parading of Byron's "bleeding heart" is a "pageant," while much inclined to feel that the exposure of Hazlitt's bleeding heart is a "holy show." Here we may rest upon the dictum that tragedy will have kings, and find ourselves forced to the conclusion that the spleen of a noble lord is more precious than that of a hack writer and son of a dissenting clergyman. Curiously enough, Hazlitt was busied in some such bitter consideration of Byron's case while the last news was speeding from Missolonghi. Hazlitt took back nothing, as we learn in "The Spirit of the Age"; but he wrote no more in bitterness, praising rather the fate which had given one who had posed as the enemy of mankind a death in the cause of liberty. Similarly the reader will do well to remember that Hazlitt's animosities, irregularities, and self-tortures have been the soil from which has sprung the wholesome and luscious fruitage of his literary works.

His place in literature has never been fairly determined. And in this connection it will be suggestive at least to remind ourselves that a miscellany such as Mr. Birrell presents in this volume could not successfully be undertaken for any other essayist of the first rank. You could not dismantle Addison and Steele for elegant extracts; you would hardly come off with a Lamb or a De Quincey anthology; a Wit and Wisdom of Sainte-Beuve would be unthinkable. Does not this fact suggest the limitations of Hazlitt's genius? He was, De Quincey insisted, "non-sequacious," his brilliancy is chiefly seen "in separate splinterings of phrase or image, which throw upon the eye a vitreous scintillation for a moment, but spread no deep suffusions of color, and distribute no masses of mighty shadow. A flash, a solitary flash, and all is gone." Some such feeling as this made Stevenson rank "Table Talk" with the odd volume of "Tristram Shandy," which he regarded as ideal for a tramper's pocket.

Hazlitt still awaits his biographer. The present book contains practically little that has not been already and better said about him by others. Hence it will not add to Mr. Birrell's reputation. But it does for Hazlitt what Charles Lamb did for the Elizabethan dramatists. It will win him readers, and Mr. Birrell a reflected gratitude.

FRANK JEWETT MATHER, JR.

Considerations of space relegate to a note the most important book of the quarter, "H. Taine: sa vie et sa correspondance" (Paris, Hachette). The present volume

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contains the youthful correspondence, 1847–1853, and is made up largely of letters to his closest friends at the École Normale, Prévost-Paradol, and Éduard de Suckau. These letters show that his ardent spirit was most deeply concerned in pure philosophy, and that the particular applications of his method to literature, history, and art were in a certain sense accidental. At twenty he had constructed a complete system of the universe with which he scandalized his examiners and seriously delayed his various academic promotions. A perfect stoicism maintained him in his small professorship at Nevers and Poitiers. At twenty-four he wrote De Suckau, "with 1615 francs I am far too rich." In this time of obscurity, exile, and injustice he was sustained by his dream of creating "a zoology of the human mind," and by a passion for abstract reasoning which everywhere finds expression in this correspondence. To his mother he writes: "I keep very happy. To chat with one's ideas is an infinitely pleasing — a passionate occupation. All the faculties are tense, one forgets all else, the days pass like a dart, and, finally, one achieves self-contentment having made a genuine effort and done a man's deed. This is even a kind of intoxication; the more you drink the more you wish to drink, and as the passion grows through habit, you come to the point where you hate to leave your room. At this moment I understand those who have lived in their chairs, looking into their own thought, and scorning even to look out of the window at the passing throng."

It is a positive misfortune not to read these letters in French. But a translation was inevitable. It is already at hand in England, the version being by Mrs. Devonshire and the imprint that of the Constables. The appearance of this work in America may give me an opportunity to return to a subject the interest of which can at this time only be indicated.

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MUSIC.

Richard Strauss.

A rumor was current last July that Richard Strauss had been engaged by Emil Paur for a series of concerts in American cities. Inasmuch as Mr. Paur is himself an orchestral conductor and not a capitalist who could risk such an experiment, the well-informed smiled at this obvious canard. To others the announcement seemed plausible enough, for had not Mr. Paur been Richard Strauss's chief apostle in America? Had he not persisted in placing on the Philharmonic programmes compositions which drove many of the hearers — and not only the conservative ones — from Carnegie Hall?

Strauss subsequently wrote a letter to a friend in New York in which he declared that he had received two offers from America, but had not made up his mind whether he would accept either. Should he refuse both, there can be no doubt that we shall hear him another season. Nor can any one doubt that a visit from him would be as profitable as it would be interesting; for Richard Strauss is the most prominent and best advertised of all living composers. Whether he is the greatest, or one of the greatest of them, is a question to which widely divergent answers are given; but no one can deny that he admirably represents several recent tendencies in musical composition and performance.

Five years ago, when the name of Strauss was spoken or written, everybody, as a matter of course, thought of the waltz-king, Johann Strauss. The rapidity of Richard Strauss's rise to fame is revealed by the fact that to-day he is meant in nine cases out of ten if the name of Strauss is heard or read, although Johann is as popular as ever. Popularity is not always synonymous with vulgarity. Johann Strauss, although he was a writer of waltzes and operettas only, was cordially admired by musicians differing as widely in taste as Brahms and Wagner; and when he died, the Viennese rightly buried him near Beethoven and Schubert. Last summer, when Richard Strauss accepted an invitation to conduct a few concerts in Vienna at a resort in the Prater where serious (or what some people are pleased to call "scientific") music is not

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usually heard, some journalists criticised him severely for thus "lowering the dignity of art." He retorted that a place good enough for his great namesake was good enough for him.

Interpreters versus Time-Beaters.

The result was suggestive and significant. Abstruse and complicated compositions like his "Pranks of Till Eulenspiegel," "Death and Glorification," and "A Hero's Life," which had puzzled and bewildered dignified Philharmonic audiences in many cities, were, under his eloquent direction, made so clear and impressive to the frequenters of the humble popular resort in the Prater that they aroused, according to local journalists, "an almost southern enthusiasm." Had they been played under an old-style conductor they would probably have fallen flat. The old style of conducting consisted in taking everything in strict unchanging time, and emphasizing the beginning of each bar. This is appropriate to dance music, which calls for metronomic regularity, but deadly to modern compositions of a higher type. The new style of conducting both modern and classical works, of which Wagner was the first aggressive champion, consists in ignoring the bars and placing the accents on the emphatic words and syllables, so to speak, of the *musical idea*. In other words, instead of recalling the ball room, the new style suggests the poetic drama. The old-fashioned conductor is like an actor who would recite his verses as a schoolboy declaims a poem, strongly emphasizing each accented syllable:

"*Once* upon a *mid*night *drea*ry *as* I *pon*dered *weak* and *wea*ry," etc.

Had not Wagner brought the new fashion of conducting orchestral music into vogue, Liszt would have done it. Independently of him he had adopted the same principles of interpretation in his pianoforte playing, largely under the influence of Chopin and his *tempo rubato*. The first great conductors who followed in the footsteps of Wagner and Liszt were Hans von Bülow and Hans Richter. In more recent times the chief exponents of this new tendency have been Anton Seidl, and, to a less extent, Theodore Thomas in America, and Nikisch, von Schuch, Weingartner, Lohse, and Richard Strauss in Germany. These conductors have placed orchestral interpretation on a level with the piano playing of great artists like Liszt, Rubinstein, and Paderewski, by infusing into it individuality and temperament, and by recognizing the fact that the substance of music lies in its kernel and not in its shell. There are still some conservative critics and professionals who seem to think that the orchestra is of more importance than the conductor, though they would

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hesitate to say that the piano is more important than the pianist. Yet even they could hardly fail to see the humor of the admonition given to Richard Wagner by his superiors in authority when he first began his original way of interpreting music: "The Kapellmeister should follow the orchestra, not lead it." The old tendency in orchestral conducting, as compared with the new, is admirably summed up in that comic admonition.

Orchestral Coloring.

Equally comic and antediluvian is a chapter in Herbert Spencer's latest and last book in which the eminent philosopher laments the monotonous coloring of our orchestral music, alleging that the violins have a practical monopoly. Every musician who comes across that chapter will open his eyes wide in astonishment and ask himself: "Has Mr. Spencer kept company with Rip van Winkle for a half, nay, three-quarters, of a century?" It is undeniable that in the music of Haydn, Mozart, and even Beethoven, the four instruments of the violin family — violin, viola, violoncello, and double bass — predominate almost always; although even here the wood wind-instruments and the horns are sometimes used entrancingly. But two of Beethoven's contemporaries, Weber and Schubert, recognized the charm and the emotional significance of the most diverse clang-tints; and the hints given by them were exploited and developed by Berlioz, Liszt, Wagner, and their followers, until the violins, instead of enjoying a quasi-monopoly, were in danger of being swamped, and had to be greatly increased in numbers to enable them to hold their own against the surging waves of sound poured forth by the trumpets, horns, trombones, and tubas.

It is claimed by the champions of Richard Strauss that he represents the climax of this modern tendency toward rich and varied orchestral coloring. Perhaps he does, inasmuch as he sometimes seems, like Berlioz before him, to put gorgeous colors on his canvas for their own sake, whereas Liszt, and still more Wagner, chose their colors less for their sensuous charm than for their emotional significance and appropriateness. The difference is not in favor of Strauss. It explains why his colors, with all their diversity and opulence, do not warm the heart of the audience as do those in Liszt's "Faust" symphony, Wagner's "Tristan," or the finale of the "Götterdämmerung," which no other colorist has ever approximated.

Expert musicians can hear with their eyes — that is, by looking at a score they know how it will sound. What is more remarkable still,

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they may be haunted by tone-colors which their ears have never heard, but which they want for a certain emotional effect. In such a case Wagner became an Edison and invented the instrument his mind's ear heard; for example, the wooden trumpet in the form of an oboe, to emphasize the emotional change in the shepherd's melody, in the third act of "Tristan." I have often wondered why the hint there given has been so little heeded. The bagpipe has been introduced in some operas very effectively; in one of his waltzes Johann Strauss makes charming use of the zither; Richard Strauss even has a "windmill instrument" in his "Don Quixote." Now that the possible combinations of existing instruments seem to have been nearly exhausted, it seems likely that composers will turn their attention more and more to extraneous or exotic sources of orchestral colors. Some of the obsolete mediæval instruments, whose number is great, might be advantageously revived, and many new ones are possible. A German composer, Dr. Alfred Stelzner, some years ago constructed two new instruments, to which he gave the names of violotta and cellone, and which he used with much effect in his opera "Rübezahl," which had its first performance in Dresden last June. They differ from other instruments of the violin family somewhat as the viola differs from the violin or from the violoncello; and the audience was much pleased by the new clang-tints thus introduced into the orchestra.

Musical Realism.

Before Weber, the chief aim in music had been euphony — beauty of sound. It was Weber who first clearly recognized the fact that under certain circumstances music should not be beautiful so much as characteristic, or, indeed, frankly ugly. When the poet Tieck denounced the gruesome Wolf's-Glen music in the "Freischütz" as "the most unmusical noise that ever raged on a stage," he fancied he was writing a crushing condemnation of Weber; but, in truth, he was complimenting him on knowing his business as a musical dramatist. When Beethoven looked over the score of this same romantic work, he was so excited that he struck it with his fist and exclaimed that thenceforth Weber "must write operas, nothing but operas." He admired the way in which the music tells whenever "the devil puts in his paws." "Weber has certainly written devilish stuff here, in the scene of the Wild Hunt. When I read it, I have to laugh, and yet I feel that it is the right thing."

"Devilish stuff — and yet I feel that it is the right thing." Had the musical critics of Europe heeded these words of Beethoven, the Wagner war need never have been fought; for it was the "devilish stuff" in

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Wagner's music that chiefly offended the conservatives. "All music should be sweet," they told him, and he retorted that "music should be sweetly melodious in sentimental scenes, as I have made it, but gloomy and poignant in tragic moments, and harsh and ugly when angry passions are portrayed, as in the scenes between Alberich and Mime in 'Siegfried.'"

It has been said that it is a woman's privilege to be ugly, but that some women abuse their privilege. Not a few critics who admit that music may and should be, on occasion, characteristic to the verge of ugliness declare that Richard Strauss, in his recent symphonic poems, has gone too far. He might retort that he has simply carried to its logical conclusion the tendency toward musical realism which he found in the operas of Weber and Wagner; and that, if he has gone beyond them, so have Liszt in "Mazeppa" and Grieg in his "Bells" (especially in Seidl's admirable orchestration of that curious composition). The pages in Strauss's autobiographic "A Hero's Life," in which he makes fun of his critics and indulges in warlike cacophony, reminded me strongly of some of the Chinese music I have often heard in San Francisco. Some distinguished musicians, for instance, Paderewski, like that kind of music; why, then, should we censure in Strauss the "devilishness" we approve of in Weber, Wagner, Liszt, Grieg, and the Chinese players? It was unheroic, to say the least, on the part of the New York Philharmonic audience to run away from that musical Autobiography of a Hero!

Programme Music.

It cannot be denied that as a musical realist an opera composer has a great advantage over a writer of symphonies or symphonic poems (tone-poems). Had the battle-music in Strauss's "Heldenleben" been written by Wagner for Siegfried's fight with the dragon, no modern opera-goer would have taken offence at it, for he could not have helped recognizing the appropriateness of such orchestral cacophony to such a scene; whereas in the concert hall the hearer has nothing but a note printed in the programme (and not always that) to tell him what the hubbub is about. Notwithstanding this drawback, programme music has been steadily gaining in favor and vogue for nearly a century, and the indications are that its apogee is not yet.

In its crudest form programme music is as old as the hills. The ancient Greeks had flute players who anticipated Wagner in trying to depict in tones a fight with a dragon. We hear of Italian and French composers in the sixteenth century who attempted to reproduce the sounds one hears in St. Mark's Place, Venice, or the trumpet calls, the clashing

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of swords, and other sounds of a battle. This was done vocally. Jannequin's "La Bataille," for example, is a chanson for four voices, relating to the battle of Malegnano. Modern programme music is instrumental. For a long time it was not in good repute, and some worthy musicians have not yet quite got over their abhorrence of it. Haydn was rather ashamed of the essays in this direction which he made, by request, in one of his oratorios. Even Beethoven, after writing the Pastoral Symphony, with its fine thunderstorm and other realistic touches, was frightened at his own audacity and hedged by declaring that it was to be taken as an expression of feeling rather than an attempt at tone-painting. His example, however, gave courage to his successors, Mendelssohn and Schumann; while Berlioz, Raff, Liszt, and, with the exception of Brahms, all the prominent modern composers have taken special delight in working in this borderland where poetry and music meet. Beethoven himself had a plan, some years before he died, of giving poetic titles to his sonatas and their movements.

By a perhaps pardonable confusion of ideas, Wagner is often classed among the writers of programme music. Does he not make the orchestra flicker like flames, rustle like the leaves of forest trees, patter like the rain on the roof, whistle and howl like the stormwind? He does; but it is the very essence of his theory and practice that this musical realism should be accompanied and elucidated, or emphasized, by the scenery, the poem, and the action, *at every moment*, whereas the writer of programme music leaves to the hearer the task of dove-tailing the music with the incidents described in the printed programme. Wagner found fault with the dramatic symphonies of Berlioz on account of the difficulties and frequent confusion to which this task gave rise.

Liszt, in his symphonic poems, improved on Berlioz by choosing simply a suggestive title, like "Mazeppa," "Orpheus," "Battle of the Huns," "Tasso, lamento e trionfo," and sketching a familiar story in broad, vigorous strokes. One of the first to follow his example was the French Saint-Saëns, whose "Phaëton," "Le Rouet d'Omphale," "La Jeunesse d'Hercule," and "Danse Macabre" are, in suggestiveness, conciseness, and pictorial realism, models of what a symphonic poem should be. Dvorák, Paine, Tchaikovsky, and a host of other major and minor composers in all countries have written symphonic poems, overtures, and orchestral fantasias illustrating the pictorial power and tendency of modern music. Richard Strauss has erred in some instances in choosing too abstruse and elaborate programmes for his symphonic poems, thus confusing, as did Berlioz, the connection between the music and its poetic

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substratum; but, on the other hand, he has a rare faculty for graphic portrayal, in which his skill as a colorist plays an important rôle.

The Musical Short-Story.

There can be no doubt that the art-form of the future for orchestral music is the symphonic poem as constructed by Liszt, Saint-Saëns, and Dvorák. I would add the name of Richard Strauss were it not for the shortcoming just referred to, and his disposition to choose metaphysical subjects — "Thus spake Zarathustra" — which are utterly unsuitable for musical treatment. Most of his symphonic poems are, moreover, open to the charge, which, to be sure, can also be brought against some of Liszt's, of being too long. Dvorák once said to me that in his opinion even symphonies should never last over half an hour. He has not quite lived up to his conviction on this point; but it is well to have modern composers understand, at any rate, that over-elaboration is not a virtue, but a vice. Beethoven undoubtedly improved on the symphonies of Haydn and Mozart in many important respects; there is more thought, and food for thought, in one of his than in a dozen of theirs. But his doubling the length of the symphony was a grievous error, which has done a great deal to retard the evolution of music, and has consigned to oblivion many works that might have lived had not their composers, with his example before them, been tempted to stretch out their material to tedious lengths.

As the three-volume novel has had its day, so the four-movement symphony is doomed to extinction. It is too long. Its writers usually labor under the strange delusion that genius consists in taking some insignificant theme and developing it interminably with the utmost display of technical skill and ingenuity. Genius, on the contrary, consists in the faculty of originating significant ideas, expressing them in the simplest possible way, and stopping short when all that is new has been said, whether it makes one page or a dozen or more. In architecture there is some excuse for skyscrapers, because, if not beautiful, they are at any rate useful and profitable. But long symphonies are the reverse of useful and profitable. A very talented composer, who died six years ago, the Viennese Anton Bruckner, practically wrecked his whole career by writing skyscraper symphonies lasting up to an hour and a half. No conductor dared to risk the success of a whole concert on such works, and, consequently, they were ignored, and the poor deluded man died broken-hearted. He had been unable to read the signs of the times.

At the Metropolitan Opera House in New York, the Boston Symphony

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Orchestra produced, a few years ago, a symphony by Mrs. Beach. It was constructed on German "classical" models and seemed interminable. I sat in a box with Anton Seidl, who fled in dismay before it was half over. The emotions this feminine symphony aroused in me were, successively, curiosity, surprise, impatience, indignation, wrath, despair — which, I submit, were hardly what the composer had intended. Yet there were some happy thoughts and details which might have been worked up into an effective short orchestral piece, lasting ten minutes instead of an hour.

Apart from its usually excessive length, the symphony has the fatal defect of not being an organic form of art. With a few exceptions, there is no more connection between its four movements than there is between four Pullman cars; less, indeed, because the best Pullman trains are vestibuled, whereas Haydn made the blunder of entirely detaching the symphonic movements; and this blunder has been perpetuated to the present day, although Mendelssohn, Schumann, and a few more recent writers have, in single instances, run their movements together and also tried to connect them organically by employing, to a slight extent, the same thematic material in two or more of them. But the symphony can hardly be saved by that device. It is too artificial in structure to survive much longer.

When Richard Wagner was twenty-seven years old, and the music for his first characteristic opera, "The Flying Dutchman," was fermenting in his brain, he wrote a fanciful novelette entitled "A Pilgrimage to Beethoven," in which he took the liberty of making that composer say: "If I were to write an opera after my own mind people would run away; for they would find in it none of the arias, duets, terzets, and all the stuff with which composers now make up their operatic patchwork." Beethoven, of course, never dreamed of such a thing. It was Wagner himself who discarded the arias and changed the opera from a patchwork, or mosaic, into a work of art organically connected in all its parts by means of recurring leading motives. Liszt did the same thing for the concert hall when he invented the symphonic poem, in which one leading thought permeates the whole unbroken piece, and substituted it for the symphony with its four detached movements. Wagner, in his essay on Liszt's symphonic poems, cordially recognized the great improvement he had made by discarding the symphony, with its aboriginal dance and march rhythms and its stereotyped structure, and adopting in its place a type of composition based on poetic motives and capable of endless variety of subject and form.

It is for the various reasons here indicated that the tendency of ad-

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vanced composers has been more and more toward the musical short-story, the symphonic poem. Richard Strauss began as a conservative follower of Beethoven and Brahms, as his first fifteen works, including a symphony, show. In 1885 he "shed his skin," and thenceforth followed the banner of Liszt and the symphonic poem. He has himself said: "I am the legitimate successor of Liszt"; and last winter he gave much pleasure and satisfaction in Berlin by conducting, for the first time, all of Liszt's symphonic poems in chronological order.

Pianoforte Music.

In the realm of the pianoforte the musical short-story came into vogue sooner than in the orchestral field. Although here, too, Beethoven impeded progress with his artificial, incoherent sonatas, which were foolishly proclaimed as the perfection of musical form, there was fortunately a strong countercurrent in the admirably constructed short pieces of Schubert, Chopin, Mendelssohn, Schumann, and others. Schumann declared, about half a century ago, that the sonata had had its day; and it is most significant that his principal follower, Johannes Brahms, the leader of modern conservatives, wrote only three sonatas, and those among his first five printed works, while his more mature powers were given to waltzes, Hungarian dances, ballads, rhapsodies, capricci, intermezzi, and other short pieces.

Two tendencies are to be noted in modern pianoforte pieces as in orchestral music. Some composers follow the example of Schubert and Chopin in simply calling their pieces valses, impromptus, mazurkas, polonaises, and so on, while others give them poetic names after the manner of Schumann or Liszt. This newer procedure is rapidly superseding the other, because of its obvious advantages. As already stated, Beethoven himself had a plan of adding descriptive titles to his sonatas and their movements. In all probability one of his reasons was the excessive popularity of the "Moonlight" sonata, which he knew to be inferior to some of his other works, and which obviously owed its greater vogue to its title, although it was neither appropriate nor given by the composer himself. Such titles are not only suggestive and inviting to the purchaser, but they are much easier to remember than "sonata opus 37, No. 2," or "sonata in F sharp minor" or "B flat major."

If Beethoven had given his sonatas poetic titles after they were written, he would have followed the method which was subsequently adopted by Schumann. Liszt's way of first choosing a subject and writing appropriate music to it is obviously preferable. It gives the com-

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poser of pianoforte pieces the advantage enjoyed by the writers of songs and operas of having a poem, a scene, or a story to stimulate the creative fancy and conjure this or that mood. A further advantage is suggested by the manner in which Edward MacDowell names and groups his short pieces. His love of nature suggested to him a series of "Woodland Sketches," and "Sea Pieces," each comprising half a dozen short compositions illustrating different phases of the subject. In the "Woodland Sketches," the last number recalls the melodies and harmonies of the others, thus, in a manner, welding them together. In his later groups he did not repeat this process, probably because he felt that a sufficient bond of union was supplied by the subject itself. While all the pieces in such a group are thus related poetically, any one can, nevertheless, be played separately. Quite recently Prof. MacDowell has added two more of these characteristic groups to his list of works. The first, entitled "Fireside Tales," comprises six numbers: "An Old Love Story"; "Of Br'er Rabbit"; "From a German Forest"; "Of Salamanders"; "A Haunted House"; "By Smouldering Embers." The other, entitled "New England Idyls," contains ten pieces — "An Old Garden"; "Mid-Summer"; "Mid-Winter"; "With Sweet Lavender"; "In Deep Woods"; "Indian Idyl"; "To an Old White Pine"; "From Puritan Days"; "From a Log Cabin"; and "The Joy of Autumn."

The poetic element in these compositions is further emphasized by a procedure which makes them hover, as it were, half-way between pianoforte pieces and songs. At the head of each number are placed a few lines of suggestive verse from the author's own pen. "To an Old White Pine" has this motto:

> A giant of an ancient race
> He stands, a stubborn sentinel
> O'er swaying, gentle forest trees
> That whisper at his feet.

The composer's summer workshop is easily recognizable in the lines that head "From a Log Cabin":

> A house of dreams untold
> It looks out over the whispering tree-tops
> And faces the setting sun.

This method is an improvement not only on Mendelssohn's "Songs Without Words," but also on Schumann's way of grouping a dozen or more short pieces and giving them titles which are often more fanciful than obviously appropriate. A more important question, to be sure, is whether the American composer has also succeeded, like his German

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predecessors, in saying something new musically. This must be answered most decidedly in the affirmative. MacDowell is the sworn enemy of the commonplace; he prints nothing that is not new. What distinguishes him from most of his contemporaries is that he has a fresh melodic vein. Saint-Saëns once wrote a book in which he pleaded for the recognition of the great importance of harmony in music. In a recent essay he declares that since he wrote that plea the situation has changed so completely that it now seems necessary to say a word in behalf of the neglected melodic factor. In MacDowell's music melody is never slighted, while the harmonic setting always has the spice of the unexpected; and his modulations are as novel and as delightful as those of Schubert or Grieg. Moreover, while many of his compositions make the highest demands on the technical skill of the pianist, he never piles on technique for technique's sake, as so many of his colleagues do, partly to hide their lack of ideas, partly to astonish the natives. The climax of this most reprehensible tendency is reached in the Chopin arrangements of Leopold Godowski, formerly of Chicago. As if to show that for the modern virtuoso even the Chopin *études* are not difficult enough, he has rewritten them, combining two or three of them into one — a procedure that should be a state-prison offence.

Lyric Art Song.

In the department of the *Lied*, or art-song, neither MacDowell nor any other living American or European has been able to make an absolutely new departure, for the simple reason that Schubert and Liszt seem to have exhausted all possibilities in that line. In fact, when Schubert in the year of his death (1828), wrote his "Doppelgänger," he left little even for Liszt in the way of making the music cling to the text word by word. There are nearly as many forms of the *Lied* as there are of poetry, and Schubert was master of them all, from a simple folksong, like "The Rose on the Heath," to a mood-picture, like "Death and the Maiden," and a dramatic ballad, like "The Erlking."

The champions of Richard Strauss claim, indeed, that with him the German *Lied* has entered a new phase of development. Speaking of the latest collection (opus 49) of his songs, Dr. Leopold Schmid, of Berlin, declares that "his aim is no longer invention, in the traditional sense of the word, but rather a more and more subtle and free absorption of the words in tones [*Vertonung der Worte*] without any reference to the rules relating to keys or measures." But so far as this free *Vertonung der Worte* is concerned Strauss has not been able to go beyond Liszt's

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"Loreley" or Grieg's "From Monte Pincio"; and his "not aiming at invention" is simply another way of saying that he often writes when he has no new melody to suit his chosen poems, and so contents himself with "impressionistic" harmonies — chords and arpeggios. This is not true of all his songs; some of them are admirable in every way; but, on the whole, fresh, enchanting melodies are much rarer in his songs than in those of Grieg and MacDowell, who may be safely pronounced the greatest of living song writers. They have plenty of new ideas, and new ideas are, after all, much more important than new forms.

More important, too, are atmosphere and national or local color. It is in these directions that song literature has been chiefly enriched since the days of Schubert. The new strength and beauty of the songs of Schumann, Franz, and Jensen lie chiefly in their abundant ideas; their color is, like Schubert's, always German. New color — Hungarian, Polish, Oriental, Russian, Bohemian, Irish, Norwegian — was introduced by Liszt, Chopin, Rubinstein, Tchaikovsky, Dvorák, Stanford, and Grieg, respectively. But while these masters undoubtedly added fascinating exotic melodies and quaintly novel harmonies to the main current of European music, we must be careful to render unto Cæsar the things which are Cæsar's. Some of these composers, notably Chopin and Grieg, have not yet received full credit for their marvellous originality, because the amateurs and critics have ignorantly accepted as national peculiarities traits created by these masters themselves. If American composers are at a disadvantage with the European in so far as they have no national folk-song to draw upon for color — for Indian and negro tunes belong to a different class and have little artistic value — they do not run the risk, on the other hand, of losing the credit for their original contributions. At present, the chief trouble with most American composers is that they rely too much on foreign models. However, a good beginning has been made, and there is no reason to doubt that our music will become more and more racy of the soil, and that a few decades hence experts will be able to detect the bouquet of an American song as well as that of an American wine or an American story.

Opera and Operetta.

It has been written a thousand times that Wagner paralyzed operatic composition; that the novelty, beauty, and power of his works were so great that no other writer has been able to compete with him. This is true in the sense that in face of Wagner's music-dramas most recent operas have seemed like foothills as compared with Alpine summits. At the

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same time, there are more peaks than the critics and the public are aware of — peaks which have remained hidden under the clouds of adversity. In his recent volume on "English Music in the Nineteenth Century," Mr. J. A. Fuller-Maitland has some remarks, which managers would do well to take to heart, on the usual fate of new operas. All theatrical productions, however enthusiastic their reception may be, begin to attract the public, as he truly says, only when they have been on the stage for some time. "The second performance is usually given before empty benches; and, in the case of non-musical plays, the manager knows this so well that he proceeds with the run of the piece until the public has had time to form its real verdict." Operatic managers, on the contrary, lose heart after the second or third night, and shelve their new score for good; although it is known to all that new music, above all things, needs to be heard repeatedly before it can be understood and admired. "Even such successes as those of 'Faust' and 'Carmen' were only achieved by persistence in performing the works to audiences which at first were very meagre." Mr. Fuller-Maitland might have added the third of the three most popular operas of our time, "Lohengrin," the fate of which, when first produced at Weimar, in 1850, was so extremely uncertain that Liszt stipulated at the beginning that there must be at least three performances of it; and he encouraged the singers by dining and wining them. I am convinced that there are now at least a dozen operatic scores, not so good as "Lohengrin," but still very good, gathering dust on library shelves because they had insufficient hearings; whereas, if they could have been forced on the public attention for a season or two they would have proved permanent and valuable additions to our lamentably limited repertory.

Under such circumstances, one could hardly blame the composers if they shut up shop altogether; but the possible rewards of success — though a mere lottery chance — are so great that they persevere. But what policy are they to pursue? If they write operas in the pre-Wagnerian style, the critics call them old-fashioned and the public ignores them; witness, for instance, poor Rubinstein, whose melodious operas deserved a better fate. If, on the other hand, they follow in Wagner's footsteps, they are decried as imitators. Even regarding so fine a composer as Goldmark, a prominent German critic has written that his "Queen of Sheba" "succumbs to the powerful Wagnerian attraction," and that on his later work, "Merlin," Wagner's style "exerted a positively fatal influence." Two of Wagner's imitators — Bungert and Kistler — went so far as even to attempt to induce their friends to build new theatres for the special performance of their operas, *à la* Bayreuth.

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Bungert was finally glad to get his Homeric Tetralogy accepted at Dresden, and Kistler his "Kunihild" and "Till Eulenspiegel" at Sondershausen and Würzburg.

Rubinstein was still another composer who dreamed of having his own theatre. This, however, was a consequence of the peculiar character of some of his stage works — sacred operas, or theatrical oratorios — rather than conscious imitation of Wagner. The chief trouble with Rubinstein was, in fact, that he did not imitate Wagner enough. Had he been willing to swim with the current, his melodic genius might have made him as popular as Mendelssohn was in his day. Tchaikovsky also might have fared better as an opera composer had he adopted the best modern methods in time. Particularly instructive is the case of Verdi. After writing genuine Italian operas until he was fifty-four years old, he waited four years and then composed his superb "Aida" in the Parisian style. After that he took a long rest of sixteen years; and when he appeared in public again, with his "Otello," and six years later still, at the age of eighty, with his "Falstaff," it was obvious that he had done a good deal of thinking in the meantime and had come to the conclusion that Wagner was right in banishing from the opera not only florid vocalism, but the elaborate aria as well, and making the music cling to the poetic text closely at every moment.

Italian opera-goers, unfortunately, derived little direct benefit from Verdi's improvement of his style through the adoption of the new German tendency in operatic composition; for when he wrote his last two operas he was so old, and had so long allowed his mind to become rusty, that he had lost the faculty of creating original melodies, for which reason these two operas never became popular. Indirectly, however, his example had important consequences, for it encouraged the younger composers of Italy in their inclination to adopt German methods. Oddly enough, these men, though young, seemed to share also the least desirable trait of the aged Verdi — his lack of melodic spontaneity. This is true of all of them, including the most gifted of the group, Puccini, who not only knows how to write for the voice, but has so admirable a gift of harmony and orchestral coloring that he might have become what all these young men were longing to be called — the Italian Wagner — if he had only had Wagner's rich melodic vein. Thus time brings its revenges. The one thing which Wagner was accused of not having, but of which he had a superabundance — melody — is the one thing the present-day Italians actually lack.

No doubt there is plenty of melody in the best-known of recent

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Italian operas, Mascagni's "Cavalleria Rusticana," but it is of that cheap, trivial kind which musicians call "tune." The light but strenuous tunes which abound in this opera would, moreover, hardly suffice to account for its extraordinary popularity. Mascagni was so lucky as to appear at the moment when thousands of opera-goers had become eager for something to act as a counterpoise to the sweeping current of Wagnerism. Meyerbeer and Wagner, the rulers of the stage for half a century, had brought into vogue those four-hour operas which many listeners, tired after a day's work, found too much of a strain on their attention. Hence a shout of joy went up over this young Italian who had condensed the material for a grand opera into a sort of tragic operetta, an operatic short-story, lasting only an hour. Such an opera could be coupled with a pantomimic ballet — or with some Italian opera of the older repertory which no longer sufficed by itself to draw a paying audience — and still leave plenty of time for social features. Mascagni, furthermore, was clever, or lucky, enough to choose a subject based on incidents of modern life, which gave his opera an aspect of novelty, inasmuch as his colleagues usually based their librettos on historic or mythological subjects.

All these things combined led to the astonishing success of "Cavalleria Rusticana," a success which had the regrettable consequence that a host of imitators sprang up in all countries who adopted and exaggerated the worst features of Mascagni's work. Thus arose the so-called Veristic School of opera, a school seemingly based on the idea that the only emotions true to life are those inspired by stories of jealousy, adultery, and murder. All these operas seem to have been "written with a dagger." Luckily their vogue was but short. The movement began in 1893 and may now be considered a matter of history, although those who participated in it are still living. Mascagni is even about to produce some of his operas in our American cities. Inasmuch as none of them except the first was successful abroad, it will be interesting to observe what their fate will prove to be on this side.

As for Mascagni's colleagues, they are at a loss as to what tendency they should follow or originate now. Their latest manœuvre has been to seize upon some popular play and feverishly set it to music before its vogue ends. French composers have followed these same tendencies; but Saint-Saëns, who is forever bewailing the conquest of Paris by Wagnerism, prefers historic subjects for his operas, which ought to be better known than they are outside of France. In America and England there is absolutely no encouragement for composers. The production of new operas is usually too unprofitable to commend itself to our commercially

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minded managers. An exception, like Paderewski's "Manru," only proves the rule. Had it not been for his great popularity as a pianist, it is not likely that we should have heard that delightful opera till much later in its career. In constructing his opera, Paderewski, as a matter of course, followed to a considerable extent Wagner's treatment of the voice and the orchestra, as every up-to-date composer of dramatic works must do. Its melodies, however, are his own, and the spirit of the music is as different from Wagner's as is that of "Carmen." The atmosphere is entirely Polish and gypsy.

To return to Germany for a moment, it would be easy to name recently produced works illustrating every variety of operatic procedure. The most prevalent species seems to be the fairy tale, which Humperdinck made popular with his fascinating "Hänsel and Gretel," a curious mixture of folk-tune-like simplicity and modern orchestral splendor. That same tale, to be sure, had done musical service long before Humperdinck chose it with which to make his fame and fortune. Indeed, one might say that the fairy-tale opera is simply a branch of the mythological opera favored by Wagner, although he was by no means its originator. Not only Weber and Marschner were his predecessors, but the countless Italian composers who for more than two hundred years based most of their operas on stories drawn from Greek mythology. There is such a thing as operatic evolution, but from some points of view its curve looks like a ring!

Concerning present-day operetta, it is hardly worth while to waste any words in a serious paper on modern music. If all grand opera had suddenly become "veristic," that is, "yellow," it would have had a fate like that which has befallen operetta. Look at a few dates: Strauss's masterworks, "The Bat" and "The Merry War," were produced in 1874 and 1881 respectively; Lecocq's "Fille de Mme. Angot" and "Giroflé-Giroflá" in 1874; Suppé's "Fatinitza" in 1876; Planquette's "Les Cloches de Corneville," known here as "The Chimes of Normandy," in 1877; Audran's "Mascotte" in 1880; Millöcker's "Beggar Student" in 1882; and Sullivan's "Mikado" in 1885. That was the golden age of modern operetta. For once the wail about the good old times is justified. Where are the successors of those composers? In this country, for a time, excellent work was done by Reginald De Koven, Victor Herbert, and a few others. To-day chaos reigns. The operetta has been absorbed by the vaudeville, the variety show. It has been superseded so thoroughly by this woefully inferior species of entertainment that when a work is produced which, like "King Dodo," resembles a real operetta, the critics

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rub their eyes in surprise, call it old-fashioned, and wonder if it will succeed. Music has been reduced to what the French call *musiquette*, and plot or coherence is not asked for. What was once the operetta stage has become a mere excuse for the exhibition of girls — ugly ones, strange to say, for the most part; and the newspapers tell us just how many chorus girls are to be on view in each of these remarkably silly and vulgar shows — sixty in one, 100 in another, while two forthcoming "attractions" announce that they will have 300 and 500, respectively! Much has been written about the Americanization of Europe; but how about the Orientalization of America?

HENRY T. FINCK.

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SCULPTURE.

In the matter of the arts of pure form, a marked change in the position of the artist and of the public has been noticeable during the course of the last twenty years. Indeed, the most notable advance in the art of sculpture in America is in the nature of the demand made upon the sculptor. It is the sculptors themselves who have caused the change: it is the contemplation of the works of art which they have set up in America, and of those to which we all turn for stimulus in France, that has wrought it; and now the new conditions seem to be working beneficently for all. The artists are not so apt as of old to model "Greek" or other "Slaves" or "Captives," or Egyptian or Palmyrene queens, or statues called by such fanciful names of no signification. Such pieces, with the statues and busts known as the Dawn, or the Dew, or the Sunflower, or the Nymph Sabrina, are the natural product of a time when but few persons think of asking for sculpture in any of the ways likely to lead to serious and significant work. When there is no demand, that will be the supply.

But with the beginning of the last quarter of a century it became evident that out-of-door monuments were increasing in number. Even in 1880 a list of statues and groups set up in the open air would have required some care to make it complete, and the increase ever since has been in a growing ratio. Indoors, but permanently set up, as in the choirs of churches or the corridors of state houses, works of sculpture are not rare. Ideal sculpture, too, impersonations and embodiments were asked for, and were set upon business buildings as well as upon public buildings. Through the decades just named these enterprises in the way of the sculptor's art have increased in number in all parts of the country, until now the handbook or guidebook representing almost any little city big enough to have a guidebook written expressly for itself names three or four pieces, one or more of which may be of artistic importance. Sculpture immediately applied to the structure of a building, as carved spandrels and wrought doorpieces, is much more rare because of the prevalence of a certain architectural style making such sculpture difficult to introduce. In place of this, however, we find the statue or

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the group set upon the two ramps of the porch, upon the top of the entablature forming part of the order of the porch, or upon the main cornice of the building, when it is seen against the sky or against the wall of the attic. There are signs that the movement in this direction has only begun, and that every successful or fairly successful essay in the direction of such sculpturesque adornment of a public place or a public building is the fruitful source of many such attempts, following the success of the first one.

The demand for portrait work is steady, and this, though not directly inspiring the best work of the artist, is about the best daily practice for him. Its difficulties are prodigious, far more numerous and more inevitable than the difficulties which beset the portrait painter, and that chiefly because the modern man with his clothes and the elegant woman with her bedecking are not suggestive of beauty of form. The sculptor can make his portrait easily; but when he looks for his work of art it evades him. The painter is better off! Color can be got even out of a black coat, and a grave harmony glows in an arrangement of brown and gray for those artists who have eyes to see: moreover, the hues even of an old and worn face crowned with whitened hair are capable of noble inspiration. The painting, still more the chalk drawing, is not an "imitation" — not even a close representation of anything set before the painter, either of the form or of the color of the object, the individual, or the garment to be represented.

The painter is perfectly free to accept all sorts of suggestions from the look of his sitter and from the surroundings, and he may produce a charming study of colored light and shade — that is, of light and shade got by the contrast and the gradation of color — in a way satisfactory to him and overwhelmingly powerful with the public. The sculptor has no such chance as that, because he must give the exact representation of something. He must give actual truth of form, even of accidental and unregarded form, which will usually be of extreme ugliness. There is no escape for him. The attitude of the figure, with the creasing and folding and hanging about it of graceless stuffs, neither ample enough to constitute drapery nor close-fitting enough to leave the form revealed within them — all this he must represent. He has to give not only "truth, which is the life of art, but also fact, which is the negation and antagonist of all art." I do not know whom I misquote in these words, but they contain a truth. The sculptor must attend to the fit of the coats and the "hang" of the skirts; even Auguste Toulmouche was not more absolutely bound to the exact fit of a lady's gown than is

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the sculptor who undertakes portrait work. His only escape from the unfavorable conditions is to adopt at once a fanciful costume of more artistic times than ours; and this is very rarely a welcome course to the subject of his portrait.

Portrait sculpture must be considered here as including the production of ideal portraits — those which represent a man long dead or recently dead, it matters little. That which matters is that it is not the visible man himself but the pictures, the artistic or photographic representations of the man together with the legends about him, his history, and his recorded character, which have made the work of art possible. There is, it will be noted, no distinction between the portrait by Augustus Saint Gaudens of Abraham Lincoln, whom perhaps he never saw, for at the date of Lincoln's death the sculptor was only sixteen years old, or that of Farragut, who died when the sculptor was still a young man not yet past his preliminary studies and not residing commonly in America — there is no difference between these and the same artist's portrait of General Logan, whose character and person he had every opportunity to study. From the artistic point of view they are equally valuable and equally authentic.

The Saint Gaudens statue of Lincoln in Chicago may be compared by any one interested in portrait art with that other statue of Lincoln which stands in Union Square, New York. This also was the work of a strong sculptor, a man as eminent in his day as is Saint Gaudens now — Henry Kirke Brown, who died in 1886. Brown's Lincoln is not the best of his works; it is not one which a biographer or critic of that artist would dwell upon; but it is fair to compare it with the Lincoln in Chicago, so that those who wish for a study in portraiture, with all the difficulties present in their full force, may learn something important by the comparison. The ungraceful figure, the harsh lines and hard masses of the head, the dress, awkward even beyond that of 1864 in its normal and average type, the absence of any imposing gesture or stately attitude in the bearing, the lack of any turn of the head or carriage of the body, at once known to all and in itself dignified — all were against the sculptors; and yet, of the two, Saint Gaudens has produced a work of singular individuality and character, and that by means so slight, by a touch of nature so simple and obvious, that it is a constant surprise even to the matured student of such surprises as the very able artist has at his command. Even the unsightly dress disappears in the personality of Saint Gaudens' "Lincoln"; and it becomes a work almost of grace, certainly of dignity, and one befitting the place and the occasion.

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Augustus Saint Gaudens, who is essentially a modern, content, as it would seem, with "local color" and the realism of every day, is naturally the chief in portrait art. He has faced the whole difficulty of it in modelling his Peter Cooper. Even Ward's statue of Horace Greeley is one degree less uncompromising. Each portrait is of an old man, of no physical charm or dignity, and clothed in the hideous broadcloth suit affected by elderly citizens in 1870; and each is seated in an upholstered armchair, as unfit a thing for representation in sculpture as the world contains. Ward's model is posed, and skilfully, so that the best is made of him; but Saint Gaudens' hero squarely faces you, sitting for his portrait.

With these may be compared the entirely ideal portrait of Michelangelo by Paul Wayland Bartlett, this being one of the ring of bronze portrait statues which adorns the rotunda of the Library of Congress. For this portrait there was material enough in so far as the head alone was concerned. There are records of value for Michelangelo's head and face, and written records justifying an artist's assumption of a certain stature and a certain build for the great sculptor's body. It is noticeable, however, that Bartlett's conception of him is really a production of the imagination, with no more taken from the documents, artistic or literary, than would suffice to help identify the man, if there were a question whom among the many sculptors this figure might represent.

Bartlett has ignored the broken nose, which would have been most hateful in the statue and which was but an accident; but he has retained the small and slight figure, the hard and powerful face with broad-based nose, pent-house eyebrows, and powerful chin half seen and half suspected behind the short thick beard. Upon the unimposing figure which history compelled him to retain, he has put the costume of the hard-working sculptor, as his power of reading the past suggested it to him. There is no better single figure in America than this; no more important design, no more dignified and wholly satisfying ideal portrait. If any single figure can be more admirable as a work of art, it can only be one which has, added to the virtues of significance and moral dignity, the further virtue of beauty of line and mass.

There are other portrait-statues in which the clothes difficulty has been met and faced, and found not too hopelessly great. The Randall statue at the Sailors' Snug Harbor on Staten Island is also by Saint Gaudens. The Nathan Hale in New York, by MacMonnies, is a bold attempt to deal with a bound and pinioned as well as clothed man — a valuable lesson in art, however unfortunate as a subject. The Rufus

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Choate, by D. C. French, is faultless in treatment of face and gesture, but is hindered and weakened by the clothes: these were not antique enough to be treated abstractly. The Lafayette, by Ward, at Burlington, Vermont, showing the "Hero of Two Worlds" as an old man, the guise in which he appeared again to Americans in 1824, amounts even to a serious study of costume. But Ward has that gift in the highest sense; he can dress a man or woman and not let the clothes overcome the body; he is king among us in that field of expressional art. His figures are clothed as in the fashion of the day, and yet reveal the truth of the body and limbs beneath, as if covered with "tights," or as if uncovered. In the famous Beecher statue, in Brooklyn, Ward has taken the contrary course, and has let the heavy garments, wadded overcoat and all, hide the man wholly except the head. Is this because no bodily grace was to be found in Beecher's presence? Did the artist remember the facts of the clumsy figure forgotten in the power of the face, and in the man's ready and efficient genius, always armed, always alert, strong to influence even those who were averse to him and to his influence? In all this, there is no attempt at cloaking and disguising the brutal facts of awkward form.

The statue of Joseph Henry, in the Washington Library, the work of Herbert Adams, is historical portraiture of great quality. The Columbus, by Paul Bartlett, is not far from his noble Michelangelo. The statue of Gibbon, by Mr. Niehaus, also in the rotunda of the Library, is another ideal portrait to which, as in the Michelangelo, no special beauty of form could be given. This sculptor is one who especially studies and loves the nude treated in the classical way. It is an admirable proof of the rightness of his method of study that he should be able to put the spirit of the great historian into this clothed and bewigged figure, and yet give some of that dignity which the treatment of such a personage must needs receive. A slight recognition of the need of drapery in disguising harsh lines, when the statue must form part of a great decorative composition, is seen in the cloak, which historical accuracy would allow. It is to the same artist that we owe the seated statue of Hahnemann, draped in a long loose gown, as if in his private study, an admirable composition. The traditional, even conventional, Washington, Ward's remarkable statue, on the steps of the United States Sub-Treasury in New York is a perfect piece of clothing and draping, the Spanish cloak being used in a realistic fashion, as if the April air, in the climate of New York City, might have made it desirable for a man of fifty-seven to take precautions when he had to stand

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bareheaded and go through a public ceremony. The picturesque and forcible Sir Henry Vane, by MacMonnies, in the Boston Public Library, is too much a study of clothes: but how is that effect, as of an exaggerated statuette, to be avoided when the doublet and the loose boot make up so much of our idea of the seventeenth century? Ward's Pilgrim and Saint Gaudens' Puritan are in the same artistic family, though not ideal portraits.

The wealth of the country in portrait art of good quality can be measured only by one who counts up the sixteen statues in the Washington Library rotunda, adds thereto what few valuable pieces there are in the old Hall of Representatives and the twenty-four statues, more or less, in the streets of the capital and the half-dozen more in cemeteries near by, and then considers that Washington, although as rich as any other American city in statuary, is only one among thirty cities which are vying with one another and with her in the adornment of their public places by art of this character. Many of these portrait statues are aided and set off by minor works of art, grouped about or applied to their pedestals; but of that matter of decorative or, in the usual sense, monumental art, there is separate treatment below. Here we must consider the portrait busts, not common as they are in France, even in proportion, but still a noticeable part of the national display. And the work of Herbert Adams must be named as forming a class apart: the head and shoulders treated as the Italian Renaissance men treated female busts, refined in modelling, expressional without excess, and most delicately tinted and set off with indication of jewellery and embroidery. I wish we had more studies in polychromy to record!

The course of inquiry now is from the simple portrait statue to that more elaborate, more pompous, but not necessarily more artistically happy, form of the portrait — the equestrian statue, which might more properly be called the group of man and horse. It should be spoken of and studied as a group, because there is a great artistic problem in that very grouping, and nothing in which failure is more often found. When you approach a living man upon his horse it is with the intention of speaking to him. You see the familiar face, you catch the expression of the eye turned toward you and the gesture of the hand. You do not think of the beast which carries him, unless there be question at that moment of "horseflesh," its charms and its shortcomings. When, however, you approach the equestrian statue the whole basis of observation is changed. It is hard to see anything but the horse. If the rider is not well set upon his saddle, you see that failure. If, as in some notable

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cases, the man is made too large and especially too tall for the horse, then there is failure of a more serious kind. If proportions are observed and the man is carried by his horse as he should be, his weight seeming as nothing to the powerful creature beneath him, there is imminent danger that the horse will be supreme and the man of but little importance.

Some wiseacre, in writing about modern sculpture, allowed himself to say that of course all equestrian statues were summed up in the Marcus Aurelius in the Campidoglio, and this because the horse in the equestrian statue is and must be so prominent. But the requirement is that the man shall be so put upon his horse as to be one with it, while at the same time the seat and centre of interest shall be in the upright human figure and not in the other half of the centaur. As the head with the features of the face dominates the body, nude or clothed, so the whole person of the man taken together must dominate the group of man and horse, and be its one serious object of interest.

The first bronze statue ever set up in America, as history ordinarily runs, was also the first equestrian statue — namely, the Washington, by Henry Kirke Brown, in Union Square. It dates far before the time with which this article is concerned; but it is interesting to recall the fact that the oldest, and in many ways the strongest, of American sculptors, John Quincy Adams Ward, worked upon that horse and man, he being at the time a pupil of Brown's, and that the one completed equestrian statue of that younger sculptor, now grown old, is one of the two or three best existing works of the kind. The equestrian statue here referred to is that of General Thomas, in the Thomas Circle in Washington; and an admirable contrast to this will be the equestrian statue of Sheridan which the same sculptor has now in hand. Saint Gaudens' equestrian statue of Gen. W. T. Sherman, as it was seen in the Greater Palace at the Paris Exhibition of 1900, was disappointing in that the winged Victory interfered with the unity of the composition and took away from the noble simplicity required for a faithful portrait statue, without compensating gain. But this group upon which the artist works unceasingly is not to be judged finally until put in its place, and that place is not yet determined. It is only mentioned now because the increase in our national stock of works of sculpture is made so obvious by the consideration that the important piece here named is only one of several which are even now in preparation. French and Potter, working together, have such a group, a General Grant, nearly ready for Philadelphia; and one for Boston, representing General Joseph Hooker.

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The equestrian statues of the time of which we are dealing, the last quarter century, are free from one vice of an older time. The horses which, as we have said, are often a little too important in the group, are at all events quiet. That of the Washington in Union Square is still a little excited, paws with its forehoof, and seems to be restrained with difficulty; Ruckstuhl's General Hartranft, at Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, is perhaps in slow trot; but H. K. Brown's statue of General Scott in Washington gives the horse as simply walking forward with all four hoofs firmly set upon the ground. The horse of Elwell's General Hancock is walking forward with a somewhat more alert movement than that of the Scott; the Sherman, by Saint Gaudens, is expressed as being in eager movement, and yet moving slowly, restrained by the bit; the Thomas, spoken of above, is stationary, the horse checked at the top of a little hillock from which the rider may be thought to be overseeing the march of his army corps; the General Grant, by William Ordway Partridge, recently set up in Philadelphia, is even more completely in repose than the Thomas, as the horse is more completely held in hand.

In short, all the recent works of importance are singularly quiet in their physical action, and gain greatly thereby. The few instances of the contrary error, like an unfortunate statue in New York, have been greeted with so much disapproval and even ridicule, the first on the part of the artists, the other by the public, that there will be but little tendency to repeat the dangerous experiment. A trotting, a plunging, a caracoling horse is fit for a bronze ornament or even for a group in which the figures stand a foot high or two feet high, but hardly for life size, or, what is much more common, the heroic or semi-colossal size of the open-air monument.

With all the works so far named there goes this consideration, that they are only the best or most notable of many which are nearly as good and nearly as important. The average merit of the American statue in such conditions as those which have been treated above is not noticeably inferior to that of similar works in France; and therefore it compares favorably with similar works in other countries. It is a curious and a pleasant thing to recall that two equestrian statues at least, among the most recent works of American sculptors, have been set up in Paris. These are the Washington, by D. C. French and E. C. Potter, an admirable group of the graver and less aggressive sort of design, and Bartlett's Lafayette, a work which, as it was seen in 1900, was not absolutely complete. The one is in the Place d'Iena, near the Trocadéro, the other

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in that open space within and enclosed by the buildings of the Louvre, and a little farther east than the Gambetta monument.

All sculpture of human subject is, of course, based upon constant study of the nude; and even he who has never exhibited undraped figures has modelled scores of them. It is, however, an evident gain to art if artist and public alike are familiar with that conventionalized representation of the human body which a nude statue offers. The real forms of the body are but little known to those of us who have never belonged to life classes. In the colder regions of the earth, and in lands which are under Christian influence, there is general consent to the proposition that what the body really is may not be revealed; but the body as treated by art, as modified by the traditions of art, is constantly becoming more and more familiar to young and old, and that help is afforded, at last, to him who would find the full enjoyment of painting and of sculpture. Accordingly the artist who seizes every chance to use the nude, especially in elaborate compositions, is the man we need. It is for this reason that Charles Henry Niehaus must be named especially. "The Scraper," an athlete using the strigil (an Apoxyomenos, in short) is an ideal figure altogether, a study in classical style, and I do not know where it is, nor how employed. "Caestus," or the athlete binding the heavy boxing-glove upon his wrist, I know only as a statuette. But the bronze figure of heroic size, "The Driller," set upon a monument at Titusville, Pennsylvania, is truly enough said to "symbolize the energy of labor." This is a magnificent figure in itself, as a piece of refined and powerful modelling, and is notable in its setting and in the significance of the whole work. MacMonnies' life-size bronze "Bacchante" is an important piece of semi-classic work of this character, wholly nude, and in well-expressed vigorous action. A contrast to it is the charming Sleeping Faun, by E. C. Potter, now in the Art Institute of Chicago.

It is one of the chief gains to the community of the international expositions that statuary and other sculpture, not realizable in permanent bronze or stone, can be had in plaster, for a time. We lose it soon, but photographs are left, as is urged below in connection with the Naval Arch of 1899. The temporary groups of Chicago and Buffalo, as well as those of Paris, have been of indefinitely great service in keeping true sculpture before the public eye and in the public mind. The approaching completion of Ward's great composition which will fill the pediment, a hundred feet long, of the new building in Broad Street, New York, will be the most important study of the nude in sculpture that America, or perhaps the modern world, will possess.

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The matter of purely ideal sculpture can hardly be separated from that of the monumental treatment of that sculpture together with its setting. If we take the piece of sculpture by itself, it is far too apt to be a piece of story-telling or of sentiment such as has poetry, rather than sculpture, for its proper vehicle. This, at least, will be true in most cases — that the arts of pure form are used in an expressional way far more perfectly suited to the art of painting or of drawing upon a flat surface. Thus, if we are to consider the Shaw monument in Boston — one of the most renowned works of the nineteenth century and the most prominent and generally accepted work of its sculptor, Saint Gaudens — we have to consider together the great alto-relief and its setting.

The question of the architectural charm of that setting in a somewhat elaborate structure of cut stone need not concern us now, except in so far as it maintains the alto-relief in an excellent place to be thoroughly well seen, and provides at the same time a broad surface, a reverse, if the terms of numismatics may be used in such a case, corresponding with the obverse which faces Beacon Street, and which consists mainly of the casting in bronze. This important piece is so large as to allow of life-size figures and represents the marching column of the regiment of negro troops commanded by Col. Shaw. These marching men serve as a middle distance, as it were, between the flat back-ground, in the more common sense of the term, and the equestrian figure, which forms the centre of the composition. A figure of Victory, or of Martyrdom, or of Devotion — an embodiment and impersonation — floats above the head of the mounted man. Immediately below her advanced left hand are the raised letters, forming a part of the composition indeed when their prominent position is considered, "Omnia Relinquit Servare Rempublicam."

In every such work of art as this, the approach of the sculpture to the character and to the conditions of illustration is to be carefully considered. Only those students of art who think chiefly of the need of wider appreciation and more intense love of sculpture among the people will urge the creation and the setting up of such significant pieces as this, pieces with what is generally called a strong "literary" interest; but, on the other hand, only a lover of sculpture for its own sake, a student of that art in many countries and as characterized by the spirit of many ages, will take exception to what he considers the too great importance given to such work. If another artist were to create a monument to Shaw, it might assume the form of a massive structure of granite or marble, upon which and around which would be grouped symbolical figures, representing Love of Country, Military Courage, Fortitude, Dis-

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cipline — what you will; the portrait of the man himself being limited to perhaps a medallion in a frame set upon the front of the obelisk or upright mass of the monument. That would be the conventional way of doing it; but a man of genius can make fine things of the conventions.

In this instance there has been assumed the most extremely opposed, the most widely differing, method of approaching the subject. Mr. Saint Gaudens has treated the thing somewhat realistically, with a military painter's dwelling upon the details of the uniform, the knapsacks, the rolled blankets, the haversacks, the muskets, the accoutrements of the rider and the trappings of the horse, all objects which are certainly easier to treat in relief than in statuary, and which are yet of extreme difficulty in the handling of a piece of relief-sculpture on a large scale. The artist of the piece of conventional design suggested above would have been free from those troubles and would have been left at liberty to model his figures delicately and to shroud them in minutely subdivided and delicately treated drapery of a more abstract quality. It is impossible for an absolute judgment to be given as to the merit of these two ways of work. But it is certain that, when a realistic piece like this of the Shaw monument is set up, it will find its least hearty admirers among those persons who are especially lovers of the sculpturesque in art.

An excellent instance of a piece of work which is full of the sympathetic treatment thought to be required for a piece of art appealing to the public, and which yet is free from the illustrative character here supposed to be inseparable from such compositions as that of Mr. Saint Gaudens, is to be seen within a mile of the Shaw monument. The reference is to the monument to the Irish poet and patriot, John Boyle O'Reilly, the work of Daniel Chester French. The admiration which I feel, and have already expressed, for that important monument is certainly not entirely of the nature of artistic enthusiasm.

The first thing which strikes the student is not the sculpturesque achievement, but the ingenious and touching appeal to the feelings of the spectator. The middle figure of the group of three is Hibernia, a draped figure sitting somewhat higher than the other two, and herself, although feminine, a more massive and more imposing personality than either of the male figures which flank her. She is engaged in twisting together certain symbolical leaves and flowers into a crown; and on her left sits Poetry, who, leaning toward her, passes his right hand holding a sprig of leaves under the left arm of the Genius, as if begging her to include this spray also in her garland. The other figure, which may be taken to represent Patriotism, appears less immediately concerned in the

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symbolical act of the other two figures, and looks out from the group; his position and the character of the figure and its dress suggesting some study of Paul Du Bois' magnificent figure of Military Courage in the Lamoricière monument. These figures are backed up by what may be called an obelisk — one of those broad and low memorial stones whose sloping sides and more sloping top partly justify the use of that technical term. The whole thing is of heroic size; the three figures are admirable in action and modelling; the portrait bust on the reverse of the great slab of stone is a valuable work; and the stone itself is covered with an interesting surface ornament of significant character.

The work of the same artist is a piece standing in Mount Auburn Cemetery, near Boston, which reaches in pathetic intensity the highest mark obtainable in the sculptor's art. This is the well-known monument entitled Death and the Sculptor, that being indeed the obvious significance of the group of two figures. The artist is at work, though his work is treated idealistically; that is to say, he is handling mallet and chisel and not the modelling tools; and Death, a robed and veiled female figure, with huge wings, stays his hand. This is the true metaphorical treatment of the interference of Death with our daily work, the work itself being idealized into its loftiest conception — that of the artistically powerful workman cutting in solid stone his dreams of power and beauty — while the resistless but gentle chief actor in the scene puts forth no violence, breaks down no doors, does not oppose, does not threaten, but merely moves the point of the chisel away from its place in the work, and seems to say: "No further!" There is nothing to ask, in such work as these two monuments by French, except those questions that apply to their technical merit; and if it were possible here to weigh carefully the questions of knowledge and skill in the sculptor's art, that inquiry would tend to rank all these pieces very high. And yet, in all such work of sentiment, the student of sculpture uses a different appreciation from that suggested by their poetical purpose. The only standard that we can set up here is this: each piece mentioned in this connection is of complete and satisfactory truth of form and subtlety of modelling. The men named may differ in the degrees of their merit, but all have that merit which will place them in the front rank of living artists. Of this, however, something more is said in connection with the question of architectural sculpture in the usual sense of the word.

The Beecher monument in Brooklyn is the work of J. Q. A. Ward. Such literary feeling — such popular and familiar sentiment — as that

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which is shown in the monument by French and in that by Saint Gaudens named above is not much in Ward's way. He gives you the figures which seem to him to express, or rather to suggest, the theme, and leaves the mind to work upon that. To me this is the wiser course for a sculptor to pursue. The imminent and almost inevitable danger of becoming an illustrator, if one tries for more than this, is to be avoided altogether only by the severe reserve under which Ward has always worked.

But as for the Beecher, the statue itself has been named already, and is of minor importance to our present inquiry. It is a portrait statue and a vigorous one, but that is all. On either side of the granite pedestal is a figure or group of symbolical and simply obvious meaning. On the west is a negro girl who lays a palm upon the low plinth which crowns the pedestal and supports the feet of the statue. On the other side are two children: a little girl, who is trying to attach a heavy wreath or festoon of leaves and flowers, and a boy, somewhat larger than she, who half supports her and half assists her in her struggles with the heavy "swag."

It is not always that the full significance of supporters or accompanying statues can be stated in words as easily and simply as this; but this seems to be the truly artistic treatment, and it is with great risk of falling into bathos that the expression of sentiment is carried any farther. There is, however, a line beyond which, indeed, the workman on out-of-door monuments of large size, the designer of large public compositions, may not go, but which may be overpassed in safety by the composer of smaller things, things more portable, to be seen from near at hand and within the home or the building for study or religious observance.

Such pieces, valued for other than sculpturesque virtues, and expressing sentiments other than those peculiar to the arts of form, are very numerous; they are beloved of those persons who do not commonly care for fine art, but who love literature. They are commonly of a size smaller than life, as being more easily transported, more easily housed and placed, and, according to the prevalent custom in such things, much less costly. If, however, we consider only life-size groups of the highest character as typical of many which cannot be named here, and limit inquiry to pieces of true and strong sculpture having also this domestic or popular spirit of pathos, it is, perhaps, French's group of Gallaudet with the Deaf and Dumb Child that ought to be named first. The philanthropist is seated, his left arm around a little girl of eight or nine years, and is showing her with his right hand the movement of the fingers by which an idea can be conveyed or a letter or syllable expressed. The pathos of the thing lies largely in the assumed knowledge, by the spectator, of the

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situation, of the patient work given to the teaching of the deaf and dumb; but that is true of all works of graphic and plastic art which have a story to tell. The story is not told by the work of art, but is told about it, and then the work of art serves as the elucidation of the story.

Such work as this is generally in the form of statuettes and those small groups which pass together under the same general name. It is probably fortunate that this tendency exists. The artist who has a story to tell or a piece of pathetic incident to relate finds it easier to carry out the idea in a piece of small size, easily managed and not expensive to reproduce in permanent material. This small piece is also more readily salable; and those of our citizens who have means sufficient to enable them to buy these comparatively inexpensive pieces of original sculpture would not thank the artist who, even at the same price, would give them groups of life-size figures: the domestic interior is not ready to receive them.

Another advantage in the small-scale work is the much diminished difficulty and inconvenience in the matter of clothes. The clothed statuette — even the statuette representing modern costume, with flowing skirts and fashionably adjusted "body," or with coats and trousers of such elegance as tailoring may admit of — may be supportable; but the same designs carried out on a large scale and put up in permanent places out-of-doors are generally so much injured by their clothing that one is led to regret, in spite of his better reason, the necessity of putting portrait statues in such places at all.

You can make a skirt dancer or a baseball player, a girl swinging her arms and body in the stroke of golf or with the racket in tennis, and the figure seems to subdue to itself the paraphernalia, the garments, the implements of sport, without any great shock to good taste; but try to imagine a life-size figure of such a character! We have something of the kind already in the uniformed soldiers which are put here and there as expressive of the idea of patriotism in military life. They are common in many cities of Europe, and the United States is not without specimens of the race; but they have nothing to recommend them, nor is their existence anything to be counted in favor of a national growth in artistic sense and ambition. It seems that all such thoughts, humorous, patriotic, religious, friendly, had better be carried out on the small scale of the statuette.

It is the rarest thing that a large piece of art conceived in such a way is of permanent value. Instances of such success are named above, but

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it would be very hard to make a long list of pieces which are not evidently failures. In the scale of the foot-high statuette, and even up to such a scale as gives thirty inches to an erect male figure, work of this kind may pass. Among the large collections of imported bronzes, there is occasionally, as there was in the spring of 1902 at a New York emporium, a collection of wholly American origin; and among the fifty or sixty pieces so brought together a dozen will be of very great moment, expressing at once a serious sculpturesque feeling and an entirely sufficient technical skill. Nor is it meant that these smaller works of art are toys, or beneath the notice of students; the conditions differ, that is all, just as the mural painting and the enamelled top of a snuff-box are wrought on different lines.

One most obvious distinction is to be made, however, in this matter. The same works of art which would be insufferable if set up alone are, when united to the forms and carried off by the mass of a great building, not only supportable, but even in some cases of extraordinary beauty. This, indeed, is one of the surprises of the art of sculpture: the marvellous way in which it lends itself to that other art, the decorative art, the combination of many arts which we call architecture. And that we may not be lost in a paradox, let us discriminate and say at once that it is architecture when the building is erected for utilitarian purposes and the sculptor is brought to adorn it. It is not architecture when the sculptor's work is of the first importance, and the decorative designer merely provides a pedestal or a frame for it. Thus, the very important and carefully designed obelisk of the O'Reilly monument in Boston, named above, is not sufficient to change this very good piece of design from its character of a mere pedestal, however ornate, into an architectural work.

There are, indeed, many structures which seem to be on the line between architecture and sculpture with a monumental framing or support, and among these are such pieces as the Hahnemann monument, named above. There the statue of the physician is a work of pure sculpture, for the proper setting off of which all the rest of the design has been elaborated and all the building carried up; but the sculptured panels in low relief, inlaid in the wings of that monument, are architectural sculpture in a true sense.

The most beautiful of these pieces of mingled character is the pedestal of the Farragut statue in Madison Square, New York, the work of the sculptor Augustus Saint Gaudens, working in harmony with the architectural firm, McKim, Mead & White. This extraordinary achieve-

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ment, which will be classed as one of the most valuable works of art of the nineteenth century, is so far non-architectural in character that its mass is composed, and its decoration conceived and carried out, without reference to any recognized architectural style. It is a great mass of North River Bluestone, forming a central square pedestal, of slightly tapering form, which is accompanied by two wings, each nearly a quarter circle in design, so that the whole is like an exedra, the plan of which is a flattened curve. There is a stone seat, and the upright wall, forming the back of the seat and the main part of the exedra as well as the ground for the sculpture, is about six feet high, making the whole height from the level of the top step from seven and a half to eight feet, while the horizontal extent from left to right may be twenty-five feet. It is evident, then, that the work is not on a very large scale.

Upon the inner surface of this upright wall there are worked two female figures, in a relief which may be called low in proportion to the large size of the whole composition. They are partly draped, the torso being covered by a suggestion of a bodice shown as of stiff material and laced up at the sides, but arms and shoulders and neck are bare, while the lower limbs disappear in the mass of drapery, and with it gradually pass into the smooth surface of the stone, which, however, is broken up around and beyond the outlines of the human figures by a long inscription in raised letters of decorative character, combining with a suggestion of sea waves to bring the whole into a single design. It is evident that no description of the piece is of much value; but it has seemed necessary to explain of what nature is the artistic merit which has been so highly spoken of. Let the figures represent Patriotism and Courage, but this is indifferent: they express nobility of character, dignity, gravity, and intensity of purpose. They are in this way as descriptive of passion or sentiment as a work of sculpture has any right to be; and their effect upon the spectator as works of pure art and as parts of a very curious and entrancing composition is unsurpassable.

Years ago John La Farge, the painter, with the aid of Augustus Saint Gaudens, then a student of his own art, put up a remarkable monument in a cemetery at Newport. It is a massive block wrought with elaborate leafage on its sides and along the little flight of steps which leads up to it at one end. Upon this block is set a tall cross, which is also wrought with leafage of the same character. It is so very rare that a piece of original design of sculpture has been combined in this way with architecture, in modern times, that even that small piece is worthy of special mention. Peter B. Wight, in the National Academy

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of Design building in New York, recently destroyed, had given many months of his time to the most elaborate attempt at reviving the peculiarities of Gothic sculpture. In very recent times, Louis H. Sullivan, of Chicago, known as an architect of singular independence, who has tried to invest the modern skyscraper, built with a metal skeleton, with some appropriate artistic envelope, has also developed what he may be thought almost to have invented — a style of flowing leafage suggesting in part a Byzantine origin. It resembles somewhat, not in its details, but in the manner of its application to buildings, the Byzantine sculpture worked by the artists who aided Henry Richardson during the fifteen years before his death in 1886, of whom there can be named here John Brines only. But this architectural sculpture is only leafage. It is not in the spirit of the modern world, least of all in the spirit of Americans as they now look upon the plastic arts, to think seriously of such work. They dismiss it as mere "decoration," and decoration is not in the habits of the century. Neither is it probable that our architecture, in its present state of expansion and development, will utilize such decorative work as this for its own improvement: architecture has ceased, on the whole, to be a decorative art. We have to consider — if we would help in any serious way the improvement of our architecture — what can be done to facilitate the addition to buildings of figure sculpture, and sculpture which in itself is impressive or at least interesting.

Such an attempt was made during the last lustrum of the nineteenth century in connection with Richardson's great church in Boston, and in the porches which were added in 1897–98 under the direction of the architects Shepley, Rutan, and Coolidge. It was so far more important than the work on the Academy of Design that figure subject was used very freely; and it was so far more practicable in that the floral and foliated sculpture was not required to have the intensely vigorous and significant character of Gothic work in vegetable forms. It was to be of necessity Romanesque, of the more tranquil, more languid, more sleepy variety of the South of France.

The advantage to the modern workman, in having this eleventh-century work to follow, is obvious. He had to seize the spirit of old work in which the classical tradition was not forgotten, and in which the slow and not very energetic spirit of the South was strongly expressed. This more seizable character was offered him instead of the intensely vivacious and spirited thirteenth-century work, inspiring with its own life the vegetable forms which it studied; and the difference to the modern revivalist was unspeakably great. But, apart from

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that, the porch was, to a great extent, a study of the famous porch of St. Gilles in Languedoc; and the sculpture in like manner, figures as well as foliage, was worked in such semblance of that piece of early Romanesque work as would be possible to an artist accustomed to model the human form as taught by modern schools of art. In other words, the modern sculptor, working in the old style, was compelled to bend that old style so far to his new requirements that his figures should have a certain approach to the proportions and the structure of the actual human body. Any architectural requirement of greater stiffness, greater formality, greater elongation, for the deliberate purpose of helping the design, could be practised within severe limitations only. Under all these conditions a very noble result was reached.

Sculpture of a type more in character with the neo-classic styles of building was the special work of Olin Warner, who died in 1896. The bronze doors of the Washington Library of Congress are his best known work of this kind: but long before, in connection with the Historical Society's building in Brooklyn, he had shown the way to use relief sculpture in modern architectural practice. Other work of his gave the greatest promise of a new world of decorative sculpture had he lived: and he knew how to design abstract form as well, as his several important fountains show us.

The preference of the architects who have been most busily employed since 1880 has been for some form of the later neo-classic art, Italian of the seventeenth century or the like. This tendency has been sufficient to prevent any further attempt at carrying out architectural sculpture on lines at all resembling those of mediæval design. This would not be a necessary cause of regret had that style of the *decadenza* any system of sculpture at all equal in assured character, in predetermined spirit, to that of the eleventh-century workmen. The difficulty with the recent work in the spirit of the Italian seventeenth-century architecture is that there exists no particular style of sculpture suitable to it. The Italians of that epoch developed none. The magnificent work of Jacopo Sansovino, like that of his smaller contemporaries, is non-architectural — merely set upon buildings now and then. And this was the unbroken rule with Buonarotti, whose example was thereafter the final authority. All that can be done now, therefore, is to work statues without regard to the building, and set them about it in favorable places. This plan, however, suits exactly the habits of the modern sculptor, of the man who works in his studio and turns out a bust or a statue as required, without having to consider very often the effect of his work in

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connection with other works of art. One prominent artist has shown a gift for architectural sculpture properly so called: but Karl Bitter has not yet the chance to make us forget the undue restlessness of his earlier work. The noble design which he and the younger Hunt once made for a monument — had that been carried out, we should have known better what modern men could do in this way. In this connection may be named the remarkable group which forms the Neptune Fountain of the Washington Library. This work of Mr. Hinton Perry is inspired in part by the eighteenth century sculpture of Western Europe.

To illustrate the embarrassment which one feels in trying, either in critical theory or in practice, to attach these freely modelled statues to the building, the comparison may be made between a row of bronze statues seen against light granite or limestone, and a row of statues of about the same size and of about the same excellence of design, but wrought in the same materials as the walls and colonnades. Just such a comparison may be made by any one who may walk down Broadway, New York, on the western side, and note, looking across the street, the row of eight statues on the portico of the American Surety Company, and the four somewhat larger statues on the front of the building called Exchange Court. These are important enough to serve as a basis of judgment.

The same question as to material came up when it was hoped that money would be raised to build the Naval Arch of 1899 in permanent material. The fact is that the Italian palace architecture of the seventeenth century, which has served as the prototype of our more costly buildings of the last fifteen years, was commonly of marble, or of very white stone, and that the statues and also the more unusual reliefs were of the same material. With our climate, marble will hardly be used very much for free standing statues, and granite has not been so worked as yet, in highly elaborated form, as to give satisfaction to any one. That experiment may well be tried; but in the meantime there is nothing to prevent the combination of color of even the darkest bronze and the usual tints of our granites once they have received a year's weathering.

The elaborate organization of the sculpture attached to the Appellate Court building, at Madison Square, corner of Twenty-sixth Street, New York, was not, architecturally speaking, a very great success; but as an example, as a step in the right direction, as a manifestation of what can be done in sculpture of classical tradition united with a building of neo-classic design, it will prove invaluable to the community. Here the statues are of marble, and they will suffer from the climate; but for

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a generation or two they may be studied. The pediment is filled with a group by Niehaus; the caryatid-like figures on the narrow western front of the attic are by Thomas Shields Clarke, and are valuable instances of architectural sculpture of a very difficult and trying sort; the group above the pediment, forming the central feature of the larger and principal front, is by French, and is symbolical of Justice; that crowning the narrower front is by Karl Bitter. The two last-named compositions are seen against the sky. The statues ranged along the top of the southern front, also seen against the sky, are by ten different artists: the reclining figures on the pediments are by M. M. Schwartzott; and there are seated statues by Ruckstuhl at the ramps of the entrance.

This in permanent form is far less successful as a piece of combined architecture and sculpture than was the temporary Naval Arch; but indeed that festal and triumphal structure was more fortunate than could have been anticipated. The spandrel figures by Conti, in high relief; the statues, set above the cornice, by Clarke, Lukeman, Boyle, and Brewster; the group by Karl Bitter, "War," which filled one of the great side places flanking the Arch; the group, "The Return," by Niehaus; and the crowning composition by Ward, a group of sea horses and tritons, with a central figure studied from the Victory of Samothrace — all these formed the composed and organized mass of sculpture groups which was seen when one looked at the southern face, that is the front, technically speaking.

On the other side the great groups were by French ("Peace"), and Philip Martiny ("The Departure"). The close following of the Paris Arch and its four great masses of symbolical sculpture is noticeable; and this was a wise and wholly proper thing to do. That is the way in which art has moved and kept moving — by taking small steps, and not furious bounds along the difficult path called "originality." The spandrel sculptures on this side were by R. H. Perry. Herbert Adams furnished the admirable winged Victories which, poised on one foot and upon a globe, adorned the groups of coupled columns of the avenue of approach. At the ends of the two colonnades forming the avenue were, at the southern end, Ruckstuhl's "The Army" and Bissell's "The Navy."

It seems best to enumerate all these pieces of work, although they have vanished, because their construction was really an epoch-making event. It was easy to criticise the architectural design of the Arch as a *réchauffé* of the Arch of Titus, and the whole composition as a French adaptation of Imperial Roman work readapted for the American market. That was a thing easy to say, and having truth in it; but, the question being al-

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ways, "How ought this young and as yet unskilled nation to handle its fine art matters?" it can only be said that the question was well answered in that instance. When the admiring visitor condoled with one of the sculptors on the ephemeral nature of his work, the answer was given that, after all, it would be seen through the photograph by very many more people than would ever see a permanent structure. Everybody was looking at it, and looking eagerly, and taking "snap-shots" and more professional pictures at the rate of some hundreds a day, whereas a permanent building of equal merit would draw but little observation and invite still less careful study.

Room is wanting to discuss the work of the American sculptor in pure decoration. The need of his assistance, if we are to have any decoration worthy of the name, is very obvious; but as yet the call upon him from this side has been but feeble. In Germany especially, among the nations of modern Europe, the movement in that direction is altogether remarkable and beneficent, although as yet too recent in its more perfected stage to be quite convincing. In France there has never been a time when the sculptor has not concerned himself with the decorative side of his art. We are to see whether anything good comes of the experiments that are making here. And in America, each annual exhibition gives more sign and promise than the last previous one had done; we have Adams' work in colored form, Phimister Proctor's fine studies of animals, often in vigorous action, H. A. McNiel's remarkable studies of American Indians, and those by John Boyle: but we have still to "plead the baby act"; to show with pride our few good examples of decorative art, and to wonder whether any great advance is possible in that direction. Our scientific and commercial progress is against it: there should be no mistake made as to that! RUSSELL STURGIS.

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THE EDUCATIONAL OUTLOOK.

A REVIEW of educational happenings during the summer time would seem to be like a gathering of "figs of thistles." But paradoxical as it may sound, vacation days are at present more favorable to a survey of significant activity in the school world than the rest of the year. This is partly because of the growing professional spirit among teachers, which urges them to utilize a portion of their weeks of recreation for laying out the next year's work and to fit themselves during the intermission for increasingly efficient service. Important educational meetings are held at that time and summer schools for teachers are in session. Besides there has been remarkable progress in the development of the so-called vacation schools, which, aside from their intrinsic value, do noteworthy service as experiment stations for testing the newer educational ideas and for demonstrating the desirability of so extending the scope of the common schools that they may become social centres of the communities in which they are located.

The movement for an extension of the social scope of the common school has been under way for several years. But only within recent months have the educators of the country become perceptibly aware of its transcendent importance. The National Council of Education devoted one whole session of its recent convention to the discussion of the new social ideals. On this occasion Prof. John Dewey, of the University of Chicago, presented a strong paper in which he set forth in clear-cut arguments the philosophy underlying the present demands for an enlargement of the range of work done by the schools, especially in the cities. He showed that the people are waking up to the idea that the school plant shall not confine its operations to children, but shall become a centre for adult activities as well. Social clubs, stereopticon lectures, gymnasiums, adult classes in art, music, and science were spoken of as samples of the kind of work that should be done in the public schools.

Among other reasons for making the school a social centre, Dr. Dewey mentioned the desirability of promoting, through a bringing to-

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gether and commingling of different races, classes, and religious sects, a common understanding and sympathy. The decay, under modern conditions, of modes of family and church discipline which formerly controlled people's activities, was spoken of as a further indication of the need of supplying through the school new agencies calculated to refine and direct people's lives. Moreover, the wonderful development of applied science in modern industry, as illustrated, for instance, in the various ways in which the laws of electricity modify people's surroundings, has aroused a desire in young and old for information concerning the truths of science. This in turn has given rise to a demand for instruction at a time convenient to the working people. To be an efficient worker under modern conditions requires one to be a continuous student, and this in turn demands the opportunity of continuous schooling. The individual laborer is beginning to appreciate this. Society also is learning that conditions and tools of work change so rapidly that the individual who does not go on using his mind is thrown out of action and left as a burden upon others.

Dr. Dewey declared three lines of activity to be appropriate to the school as a social centre: first, the providing of rational recreation and enjoyment for the mass of the people; second, the promotion of social intercourse through clubs, assemblies, lectures, and so forth; third, the supplying of facilities for enabling people, to whom the opportunity is otherwise denied, to develop any special talent they may possess in the way of drawing, music, scientific investigation, engineering, architecture, etc. — such work as is carried on in the evening classes of Cooper Institute.

Solidarity, the shibboleth of the *communistes*, has become of a sudden and as by a miracle the national watchword in France, though it carries with it an entirely new meaning, which with us in America is perhaps best expressed by the term of community of interests and mutual obligations. At one fell swoop Rousseau's idol of a social individualism has been overthrown, at least in theorization, and the popular passion is all for the social whole. The effect upon the state schools has been electrical. What the new ideal will accomplish in education before it has spent its virgin force cannot be foreseen. One thing is certain: the French mind can only be benefited by a deepened social consciousness.

Miss Anna Tolman Smith, Dr. Harris' accomplished assistant in the Bureau of Education at Washington, in speaking, before the National

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Council, of this "Recent Reaction in France against Rousseau's Negation of Society in Education," said that there is an evident purpose to centre in the school the influences that make for social unity. She dwelt particularly upon the efforts of the school patronage societies, or corporations of friends of the school, who seek to promote the social and industrial welfare of the pupils. These societies tend to the joining of forces with the various associations of former pupils known as *les petits amis*, of which there are said to be about 5,500. They serve both recreative and economic purposes. Miss Smith told how on a visit to a public boys' school in one of the poorest districts of Paris she was shown a stage fitted up with the essential properties and furnished with a scenic curtain, all provided by the society of former pupils attached to the school. Here *les petits amis* presented from time to time, for the entertainment of the present pupils and their friends, enjoyable plays and concerts.

The extension work of the French schools in lines of cultural propaganda comprises, as Miss Smith described, popular lectures, courses of lessons in civics, or the rights and duties of citizens, in economics applied to the conditions of ordinary life, in industrial science, *i.e.*, agricultural and mechanic; and for women, especially, lessons in household thrift and arts and in the local industries accessible to them. For the scientific, historic, and literary courses, syllabi are prepared by eminent professors who have the French art of simplifying the difficult; and these outlines are freely distributed throughout the country. Teachers, professors, and patriotic citizens are united in maintaining the work. The Government gives aid by an annual appropriation and by the loan of lantern slides and other illustrative material. It also rewards the teachers who are most zealous in the cause by a much-coveted prize.

With us in the United States the socialization of the common school is not a passion, as in France, but rather a logical evolution of the democratic ideals represented by that institution. The tendency, as I see it, is toward the formation of social units bound together by educational ties for purposes of self-improvement.

What the common school is already doing in the direction of transforming itself into the community centre is marvellous. The development that is upon us to-day was held to be impossible a few years since, and those with whom it was a hope were not encouraged in their way of thinking by the attitude of schoolmen. Night schools, free lectures, reading-rooms, play centres, vacation schools, parents' meetings,

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free concerts! What a wonderful progress this means! And it is only a beginning of still greater things to come.

The schools will become, before long, if the present tendencies continue at work, the distributing stations of central libraries and museums. Many of the great works of art now stored in art galleries will be sent out on trips, and the art exhibits in the common schools will give a new stimulus to a universal cultivation of taste for the beautiful. Literary and musical clubs will be invited to make their homes in the schoolhouse. Every form of self-improvement will be given encouragement. There will be circles for dressmaking, millinery, cooking, and all the household and motherhood arts; free associations for the study of local history and geography, and the practical sciences and arts; for theatricals, photography, village improvement, etc. The whole community will be drawn together for intellectual, moral, physical, and economic improvement. The vans that are used in the morning and afternoon to carry pupils to and from school will serve in the evening to convey adults to the common social centre, which has so long been confined to the narrow boundaries of a school for children.

The most significant step yet taken in the direction of developing to their fullest extent the inherent possibilities of social organization and amelioration is the opening of the schoolhouses of New York City to the people on Saturdays, Sundays, and in the summer when not occupied for teaching purposes. This was done in response to a letter from Mayor Low sent to President Burlingham, of the Board of Education, in which he said:

> I shall be glad to have the Board of Education report to me, at an early date, if it can, a plan whereby the schoolhouses that are not used in the summer, or on Saturdays or Sundays, may be made of service to the community about them at those times. I appreciate that certain hours must be allowed for cleaning, and also that any new use of the buildings may involve additional expense for caretaking.
>
> On the other hand, the substantial fact remains that all through the most crowded sections of the city there are costly public buildings, many of them provided with playgrounds or gymnasiums, which are closed for a part of every week and for a portion of every year, while all about them are children who have to play in the streets for the lack of playgrounds. Such buildings might also, perhaps, properly be used, under suitable regulations, as gathering-places for the neighborhood clubs, guilds, debating societies, and the like.

Money was obtained, the experiment tried, and abundant experience gathered for proving the departure well worth while. The friends who have so valiantly coöperated in getting the movement under way will derive much satisfaction also from a recent utterance of Mr. C. B. J.

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Snyder, the distinguished school architect and superintendent of buildings of the New York City system of public instruction. He said:

> The idea that public-school buildings should be thrown open for use under proper restrictions at all hours, even Sundays, when not in use for school purposes, is one that is rapidly growing in favor and should be encouraged in every way possible. Already some of these buildings are being used evenings for lectures, recreation centres for neighborhood clubs, and other similar purposes, while the summer or vacation schools have gained such popularity during the few years they have been in existence that this bureau cannot find the buildings sufficiently long unoccupied to make the needed repairs.

Allied with the tendency toward bringing the people into closer relation with the common schools is the growing insistence upon more practical courses of study. Economic considerations are pressed upon the attention of the school people with constantly increasing emphasis. Thus Secretary Wilson, of the Department of Agriculture, at the recent seventh annual meeting of the American Association of Farmers' Institute Workers, and also before the convention of the National Educational Association, urged most earnestly the teaching of the rudiments of agricultural science in the public schools. He said that the future farmers are not receiving the instruction and training they are most in need of. The pupils in the primary school, he said, must be taught to recognize grasses and legumes, and familiarized with the elements of agriculture. Nature study ought to be made to contribute to this end by interesting the young in the care of animals, plants, and soils. Secretary Wilson would be surprised if he could see how much loss of relationship to life nature study has suffered in its assimilation with existing bookish curricula. Most children are considerably advanced in the knowledge of the terminology of animal and plant anatomy before they learn anything of an economic value. The school gardening movement, combined with the increasing stress laid upon commercial training, may be productive of more practical results. The elementary school courses of instruction are certainly in need of an ethico-economistic baptism.

A phenomenon which in spite of its constant recurrence never ceases to cause amazement is the transmutation which originally sound educational ideas or plans undergo when introduced in ordinary school practice. Unless thoroughly familiar with the idiosyncrasies of the scholastic mind, one is forever confronted with unforeseen results. Nowhere is the reign of routine more obstinate than in schooldom. Nor is this altogether evil. It insures, at least, a training in order, preciseness, punctuality, and system — virtues that most of us cannot have too much pressed upon us. The exasperating features of it are that reforms are

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slow in winning an entrance; and when they are finally accepted they are so thoroughly metamorphosed in their practical application that often their very parents have difficulty in recognizing them. And, strangely enough, the more reasonable a proposition appears to the laic mind, the less likely it is to retain its essentials when put through the school mill. In fact, nothing seems more difficult to keep alive in school than common sense.

This is not at all due to pedagogy, as some suppose; for sound pedagogy is nothing more or less than systematized common sense as applied to educational problems. Logic is the real power behind the cast-iron routine, but diagramming and schematization of every form have a strange fascination for people who have been in the scholastic harness for a number of years. Far-seeing reformers have sought to establish newer pedagogical ideals which would annihilate this tendency. Thus it was hoped that psychology would place teaching upon a rational basis. The logic of the new science found almost immediate support, but the psychical part of it failed to receive due practical recognition. The inadequacy of the looked-for results gave birth to child-study. The plan of campaign became to make teachers realize that their business was to teach children, and not the mere logic of the school curriculum. Child-study even became the fashion; but in its transmutation it lost much of its original purpose and began to occupy itself chiefly with diagramming and schematizing.

Nevertheless, the progress from psychology to child-study has been productive of much good. As a result, the living child is receiving increased attention. Gradually the children will be individually benefited by the developing new attitude of teachers. But at best child-study can establish only humane and effective ways of teaching the young. Meanwhile, the problem of *what* to teach is of no less importance. This is a matter which can never be settled by the views of educators, which are in hopeless confusion. The question must be settled by periodical compromises between the practical and ideal demands of the times and of particular localities, on the one hand, and the results of expert investigations of the capacities and humane interests of the individual children, on the other. It is for this reason that the leaders of the people should welcome the pronounced popular tendencies toward insistence upon practical recognition by the schools of the economic demands of the present age, which have recently come to the surface.

The most important address of the annual meeting of the National

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Educational Association at Minneapolis, in July, was probably that by President Nicholas Murray Butler, of Columbia University, on "Pressing Problems," two in number, which he said were the elimination of waste from prevailing methods of education and the restoration of the Bible as a literary classic in the schools. He argued that there ought to be better adaptation of the plans of instruction to the needs of the child, and a wiser employment of the time given to education. The pupil at school is subjected to much loss, chiefly in time, which he ought not to sustain. The subject here presented by President Butler is certainly one of paramount importance.

As to the introduction of the Bible in the public schools, there will naturally be much difference of opinion. Dr. Butler's arguments were perhaps the safest, if not the strongest, that could be marshalled to the support of his proposition, considering the peculiar foundations of our common-school ideal. When we study the ancient civilizations, he said, one of the first things to which we give attention is their religious books. And yet we are trying to teach Christian civilization and a knowledge of Christian literature while excluding from that instruction all knowledge of that book which is the basis of all that is best in our literature. From Chaucer to Browning our literature draws liberally from the eternal springs of the sacred Scriptures. And yet we are undertaking to educate our children and make them scholars in literature without putting into their hands that great literary masterpiece which is the foundation of the whole literary structure.

The recent development of popular education in Argentina ought to be of special interest in this day of Pan-American ideals. A vigorous educational policy is being followed in one of our South American sister Republics, extending and improving the national school system in every direction, from the kindergarten up through the normal school and the university. The extension of industrial training and agricultural instruction through the elementary schools is particularly noteworthy. The most recent evidence of the growing belief in the transcendent importance of popular education as the best safeguard of the Republic's highest welfare is furnished by the grant which provides for the construction of twenty-one handsome public-school buildings in Buenos Ayres, which already bears the proud name of "the city of school palaces." The attitude of the Government toward the schools is very strikingly revealed in the latest message of the President of the Republic who writes in substance to the National Congress:

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The progress of general culture throughout the country is most encouraging, particularly as regards common-school education, which, after all, is the most important feature of democratic life in our Republic. While I thoroughly believe that the State should support every kind of instruction for the people, even in special departments of science, I am convinced that the most serious responsibility of the Government consists in the training of the great mass of its citizens for the proper appreciation of republican institutions.

There are in Argentine 4,538 primary schools with 460,229 pupils, of which in Buenos Ayres alone there are 247 public schools attended by 61,073 pupils.

The social influence of the public schools is steadily growing. The early prejudices against the democratic equality cultivated by the institution have been removed. Our people now realize that the schoolroom furnishes an unparalleled basis for harmonization of the different social elements which are active in the collective life of the Republic.

The technical and professional schools supported by the Government are winning more and more the favor of the people, as the young people who go out from them give evidence of possessing the equipment necessary for industrial productiveness and commercial transaction. In this field our modern system has departed far from the narrow limits of the old education.

The best proof of the increasing success of this instruction is the large number of young men who apply for admission to the agricultural, industrial, and commercial institutes, and the great demand for scholarships in the United States and Canada, where the Government supports forty Argentine students. The excellent results achieved by the North American scholarships render it desirable, it seems to me, to extend their number next year.

Our universities, on the other hand, continue their beneficent influence upon national culture and send out every year graduates well fitted for the liberal professions and for the management of our national institutions. As these universities are administered through special channels, the national Government has but little control over them. But the interest which the Government naturally takes in the evolution of our national culture makes the observer solicitous for the progress and character of the universities.

The University of Buenos Ayres has had an attendance of 3,800 students, a number surpassed in the United States by only one similar institution, and larger than many of the famous European universities.

This affords a very comprehensive view of Argentina's public educational work. In this connection it may be interesting to note that two years since the director of the Berlin Observatory, in relating the history of astronomical study during the past twenty-five years, said that the part taken in it by the Cordoba Observatory of Argentina was the most prominent by far. It is especially gratifying to learn that the National Observatory was founded in 1871 by Benjamin Astorph Gould, an eminent astronomer of Boston, Mass., who was engaged for that enterprise by the Argentine Government, then controlled by D. F. Sarmiento, the great educational reformer and coworker with Horace Mann, who was the first to bring to a foreign country American educational ideas.

The Argentinian Museum of Natural History has been directed for a quarter of a century by Hermann Burmeister, one of the prominent

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naturalists of the world, whose influence has considerably modified the science of paleontology, and whose descriptive and explanatory works are regarded as fundamental by specialists the world over.

The insular Government of Porto Rico is devoting over one-fourth of its total revenues to public instruction. The most important provision yet made for promoting local industry is the opening during September of three industrial and trade schools at San Juan, Ponce, and Mayagüez, where children of both sexes from the sixth grade grammar school may obtain a three years' course of training, preparing them, as Dr. Lindsay, the insular Commissioner of Education, writes, "for such industries as local needs demand, and to develop the native artistic sense, as well as to give skill in a trade and a good general education." The aim will be "to turn out practical mechanics." The first year's curriculum comprises language, mathematics, mechanical drawing, history, geography, and manual work, including elementary shop work. After that the general culture courses are reduced and the shop work is increased. At least six trades are to be taught.

Chile intends to spend something like $4,000,000 in gold on her public schools during the coming year, exclusive of private and parochial schools. This is one and a half millions more than last year and is an excellent showing. A new spirit is pervading the country, and the public schools of all grades receive increased encouragement. The present population is about three millions and a half.

An educational exposition has been arranged at Santiago under the auspices of the National Congress of Education, opening September 14, and continuing for about three months. One of the two sections is to be devoted to an international exhibit which will bring into competition European and American school-book publishers and manufacturers of school furniture, material, and educational appliances of every description. The other section will consist of a comprehensive exhibit of school work from the various educational institutions of Chile.

The movement for consolidating the small and unsatisfactory schools of scattered country districts into strong, well-equipped, and well-conducted central graded schools is steadily gaining in favor in the Southern and Central States, as it is found that children can be conveyed to school at public expense at a cost less than that of maintaining isolated and inefficient schools in the immediate neighborhood of the homes. The plan has been in operation in the East for many years, and is giving

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excellent satisfaction. The 2,000 teachers in attendance at the great Summer School of the South, held at the University of Knoxville, under the auspices of the Southern Education Board, expressed their faith in the movement by stating, in the Declaration of Principles issued by them:

> To secure more efficient supervision, to encourage grading, and to broaden the social life of the children, we favor the consolidation of weak schools into strong central schools. It is better in every way to carry the child to the school than to carry the school to the child.

The convention of the National Educational Association at Minneapolis, in July, was attended by something over 8,000 teachers. The guest of honor was Dr. Sadler, the philosophic and enthusiastic educator whose distinguished services as director of special inquiries and reports in the English Education Department have won him golden opinions of thoughtful schoolmen everywhere. He gave an address which was characteristic throughout of his Rugby attitude, always placing eternal truth above temporary expediency and convenience. One of his utterances with relation to national education is especially interesting at this time, when England and Wales are anxiously watching the progress of the Education Bill. He said:

> Education has constantly to readjust itself, in order to guard against new dangers which arise through the disintegration of older habits of thought and ways of life. It is so eminently a national thing that no country can with advantage directly imitate the educational system of another country. Each nation must needs build up its own system in accordance with its own traditions and national needs.

Dr. Sadler also made the novel suggestion that encouragement should be given to American teachers to come and teach for a short time in English schools, and *vice versa*. There is no doubt that much good would come from such an interchange. But the feeling, on this side of the Atlantic at least, is hardly favorable to the practical initiation of it as yet. Dr. Sadler's hint will be treasured up for future consideration.

School politics in Great Britain have a somewhat more respectable appearance than the kind we are most familiar with in America, but politics are there nevertheless. The "Educational News" of Scotland suggests a reason for this difference when, in commenting on the note concerning "Political Partisanship in School Affairs," in the last number of THE FORUM, it says:

> America seems to be no more free from the intrusion of politics into the province of education than this country, and in both countries the result is wholly evil. It is even worse in America than here. Every man there is a politician, and as the professional politician of the lower order largely monopolizes the interest in school

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work for his own ends, not only the teachers but the superintendents are liable to dismissal whenever the wire-pullers imagine that a change of school officials would serve their party ends. The public school has much to endure. At one time it is assailed by rival ecclesiastical factions, at another time by contending political rivals, and too often by both together. Happily, however, it is making headway, and the time is not far distant when it will be practically independent of both.

The optimistic note of the concluding sentence is especially refreshing at this time, when Great Britain is in the midst of Parliamentary school politics engendered by a combination of "ecclesiastical factions" and " political rivals."

The publicity given by the press to the discovery of attempts on the part of young men to cheat their way through the Princeton entrance examination has had a wholesome effect on many fitting schools. Cribbing is an evil whose roots are to be found in an eagerness to get ahead by hook or crook. Honors are counted for more than honor. There are, unfortunately, too many "preparatory" schools whose chief pride and only aim is to get the largest possible number of their graduates across the barriers set up by college entrance requirements. Honest effort to grow strong in knowledge, culture, and virtue is encouraged, to be sure, as highly respectable, but nothing must interfere with the coaching for college. In an atmosphere of this kind pupils do not find it difficult to persuade themselves that there is nothing reprehensible in cribbing. All are agreed that cheating in play is unworthy of a gentleman; cheating in school work, however, is quite generally treated with more tolerance.

The University of Harvard has announced that, beginning with the class of 1905, its degree of bachelor of arts may be earned by three years of resident study. More stringent rules are to be applied, however, in determining the fitness of candidates for a degree. Pennsylvania and Brown Universities have already followed Harvard's lead. Pennsylvania has made a most commendable provision, which arranges the college work in sixty "units," and permits the students to finish them in their own time — three, six, or ten years — a change that ought to tend to more earnest work for achievement rather than the mere acquisition of a B.A.

In a recent address, President Harper, of Chicago University, referred to the desirability of shortening the college course, at least for those who are to engage in a profession. He evidently does not approve of the Harvard plan of three years, and suggests that "it does not meet with general favor, even in Cambridge, although, according to the official

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report, forty per cent of the men now graduating from Harvard College finish their academic work within three years." Dr. Harper believes that it would be a better plan to allow those who do not contemplate a professional course of study to take the full four years of work in college, and to arrange for the other class to count their early professional work as a part of the work accepted for the bachelor's degree. This policy has been adopted as the basis for the organization of the schools of medicine and law in the University of Chicago. It is, in the opinion of President Harper, the most practicable solution of the problem, and "bids fair to be the commonly accepted solution within a short time."

OSSIAN H. LANG.

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EDUCATIONAL RESEARCH: A TEST IN ARITHMETIC.

In the July issue of The Forum, I showed that up to the present time the elementary schools had been conducted altogether on lines dictated by theories, that the ways and means of different schools had varied in accordance with different theories, and that no attempt had been made to discover the comparative value of different processes by comparing the results. To remedy this I proposed the substitution of facts for theories as a basis for guidance, I discussed the manner in which such facts might be ascertained, and stated that the Department of Educational Research would be open to contributions destined to throw light on the educational problem from the standpoint of facts.

In the present paper I shall present the facts secured by a test in arithmetic, and I shall concentrate attention chiefly upon the two fundamental questions by which teachers are confronted whenever a subject is incorporated in the school programme:

(1) What results shall be accomplished? and (2) How much time shall be devoted to the branch?

Intimately associated with these questions is a third, namely, Why do some schools succeed in securing satisfactory results with a reasonable appropriation of time, while others cannot get reasonable results in spite of an inordinate provision of time? This question introduces a problem which is much more involved than the others. Although no previous attempts have been made to discover which schools have really met with success in the teaching of a subject, under a given time allotment, and which have not, the facts are not difficult to secure. They must, however, be determined before any sustained forward movement in pedagogy becomes possible; otherwise our basis of pedagogical reasoning is liable to be false. Every practical educator who endeavors to influence other members of the profession must necessarily base his pedagogical utterances on the assumption that the teaching in his own schools has been successful. In the absence of facts his word must be taken on faith, while the facts may prove that our adviser is wrong and that success has been met where it has been least expected.

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As I have said, to get at the facts with regard to the results of instruction is a comparatively simple matter. Their explanation, however, is by no means easy. The educator of to-day finds no difficulty in explaining results, because he starts out with psychological theories and determines the results of his methods by a process of reasoning. He states, for example, that if such and such methods are used, such and such results must follow; but the results which he explains by the methods are the products of his own imagination. As long as he feels assured that certain results *must* follow his methods, why should he waste time in seeing that they do? When, however, we come into possession of real facts, we find that they differ widely from imaginary ones, and that theories which are a perfect fit to imaginary facts may not in any way fit the actual ones. In my researches I look for the genuine facts; and if the facts I find look queer and fail to bear out some of our long-cherished theories, do not let us blame the facts, but let us reconstruct our theories.

The test in arithmetic on which this article will be based was taken in the early part of the present year. I made a similar test some six years ago, soon after I had completed the one in spelling; but my editorial duties at the time prevented me from following up the investigations in a satisfactory manner, and I therefore did not publish the results. In my recent test the examinations were made — in each instance during my presence — in eighteen school buildings, representing seven cities. In all, about 6,000 children were examined. While the number of pupils tested was, therefore, not nearly so large as in the case of my examinations in spelling, the investigation, nevertheless, sufficed to show the general conditions equally well from several points of view.

The test itself consisted of eight examples. In the first two schools ten were given, but some curtailment seemed advisable. As in my earlier tests, so in the recent one, the examinations were given to the pupils of the fourth, fifth, sixth, seventh, and eighth school years, representing, generally speaking, the grammar grades. They were not given below the fourth year, because the principal point, after all, is to see what the children are able to do on leaving school, and very few leave before the end of the fourth year.

In preparing my questions I endeavored to arrange them in a way that would suit the individual grades of all schools, regardless of the methods or systems employed. From this standpoint I was successful, excepting that in a very few instances two of the examples were beyond

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the scope of the pupils in the first half of the fourth year, because they had not yet learned to multiply or divide with figures above twelve, and in the first half of the seventh year, where the classes had not yet had much practice in percentage. These points were carefully noted; but when the papers were marked it was found that the effect upon the entire school average would not in any case exceed two per cent. I wish to add, furthermore, that for the purpose of studying the growth of mental power from year to year, some of the problems were carried through several grades. Thus, of the eight questions for the fourth grade, five were repeated in the fifth, and three in the sixth, etc. Moreover, this repetition will enable us to see not only, for instance, how the results in the fifth and sixth grades, in regard to certain problems, compare with those of the fourth in the same school, but also how the results in the fourth grade of some schools compare in these examples with those of the fifth and sixth grades of others, etc. The problems for all the grades may be seen on pages 296 and 297.

A discussion of the results will now be in order. In my investigation of the spelling problem, the striking feature, in regard to the results, was the fact that the differences were small, and particularly so in the upper grades.[1] In arithmetic, on the other hand, the differences were large all along the line, and much greater in the seventh and eighth year classes than in the earlier ones. In the seventh year, the class averages ranged from 8.9 per cent to 81.1, and in the eighth year, from 11.3 to 91.7. The averages for schools taken as a whole varied between 25 and 80 per cent; and the extremes did not represent isolated cases, but were merely the ends of a graduated scale. In some schools low marks in two or three grades were offset by high marks in the others, producing a fair percentage. In others, fair results, grade for grade, produced a fair school average. In another class of cases the marks were good throughout, and in still another low throughout.

Table I gives two averages for each grade as well as for each school as a whole. Thus, the school at the top shows averages of 80.3 and 83.5, and the one at the bottom, 25.2 and 31.8. The first represents the percentage of answers which were absolutely correct; the second shows what per cent of the problems were correct in principle, *i.e.*, the average that would have been received if no mechanical errors had been made. The difference represents the percentage of mechanical errors, which, I believe, in most instances, makes a surprisingly small appearance.[2] For

[1] See THE FORUM for April and June, 1897.

[2] The method of computing the mechanical errors requires an explanation. In

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the sake of uniformity I shall use the figures of the first column as the basis of comparison, although, in view of the very small differences, the same remarks would have applied to the other column as well.

If, for the purpose of analysis, the schools be divided into three classes — good, fair, and poor — the question of distribution becomes interesting, because, in nearly all cases, the different schools of an individual city will be found to belong to one and the same class. Thus, every one of the four schools of City I made a very good average; the three schools of City VI and the three of City VII show, without exception, very poor results; and of the four buildings in City IV, three did fairly and one did poorly. The only marked exception is to be found in City III, one of whose schools heads the table, while the other did only fairly well.

As for City I, by comparing the percentages for each grade with the general average for that grade, *i.e.*, the averages for all schools examined taken collectively, it will be seen that in one only of the nineteen classes represented did the grade average fall below the general average, the results in all other instances being above. On the other hand, of the fifteen classes of City VI, one only crossed the general average for the grade, while the results in the others were far below; and of the fifteen classes of City VII, one only touched the general average, several of the others being very far below. City IV saved itself from a low classification through favorable results, for the most part, in the fourth and fifth years.

The single school in City II secured high marks in the fourth, fifth, and sixth years, but did poorly in the seventh and eighth; while the single school in City V just met the general average in the fifth and eighth years, but fell far below it in the others.

After this review of the figures, it will be appropriate to ask why the results in the schools of City I were so much more favorable than those in the schools of Cities VI and VII. The layman would be disposed to reply at once that arithmetic had been better taught in the schools of the

examining the papers, only those examples that had been correctly worked in principle were considered: the others were marked wrong, and no further account was taken of them. Consequently, the percentage of mechanical errors is represented by the errors of that nature in the problems that had received credit for the principle. Thus, the figures for the school at the top show, in round numbers, that out of every 83 examples correct in principle, 3 contained mechanical errors. The latter are therefore represented by the fraction $\frac{3}{83}$, which is equivalent to 3.6 per cent. In the case of the school at the bottom, the fraction is $\frac{6}{31}$, equivalent to 19.3 per cent. In the table the percentages are slightly different because the decimals also were considered.

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TABLE I.

	School.	4		5		6		7		8		School Average.			Minutes daily.	When taken.
		Result.	Principle.	Result.	Principle.	Result.	Principle.	Result.	Principle.	Result.	Principle.	Result.	Principle.	Per cent. of mechanical errors.		
City III	1	68.4	76.7	79.5	82 5	79 3	80.3	81.1	82.3	91.7	93.9	80.0	83.1	3.7	53	A.M.
City I	1	72.7	81.4	84 7	88.8	80 4	81.5	64.2	67.2	80.9	82.8	76.6	80.3	4.6	60	A.M.
City I	2	....	....	80 3	87.1	80 9	83.4	43.5	50.9	72.7	79.1	69.3	75.1	7.7	25	A.M.
City I	3	54.5	66.0	74.7	78.3	72.2	74.0	63.5	66.2	74.5	76.6	67.8	72.2	6.1	45	A.M.
City I	4	60.0	73.3	70.8	79.3	69.6	72.2	54.6	57.8	66.5	69.1	64.3	70.3	8.5	45	P.M.
City II	1	81.3	87.7	78.2	85.6	71.2	75.3	33.6	35.7	36.8	40.0	60.2	64.8	7.1	60	P.M.
City III	2	70.1	79.9	53.6	60.0	43.7	45.0	53.9	56.7	51.1	53.1	54.5	58.9	7.4	60	P.M.
City IV	1	70.5	76.4	73.2	77.7	58.9	60.4	31.2	34.1	41.6	43.5	55.1	58.4	5.6	60	A.M.
City IV	2	62.9	72.8	70.5	76.8	59.8	63.1	....	....	22.5	22.5	53.9	58.8	8.3	..	P.M.
City IV	3	59.8	72.7	65.3	73.5	54.9	58.1	35.2	38.6	43.5	45.0	51.5	57.6	10.5	60	A.M.
City IV	4	53.5	62.2	53.5	65.7	42.3	45.1	16.1	19.2	48.7	48.7	42.8	48.2	11.2	..	P.M.
City V	1	38.5	46.3	67.0	71.0	44 1	48.7	29.2	32.5	51.1	58.3	45.9	51.3	10.5	40	P.M.
City VI	1	28.1	31.7	38.1	44.2	68 3	71.3	33.5	36.6	26.9	30.7	39.0	42.9	9.0	33	A.M.
City VI	2	41.6	51.9	45.3	52.1	46.1	49 5	19.5	24.2	30.2	40.6	36.5	43.6	16.2	30	P.M.
City VI	3	36.8	54.2	55.0	62.8	34.5	36 4	30.5	35.1	23.3	24.1	36.0	42.5	15.2	48	P.M.
City VII	1	59.3	69.3	53.7	63.1	35.2	37.7	29.1	32.5	25.1	27.2	40.5	45.9	11.7	42	A.M.
City VII	2	47.4	55.2	65.4	71.4	35.2	38.7	15.0	16.4	19.6	21.2	36.5	40 6	10.1	75	P.M.
City VII	3	41.1	58.0	37.5	44.5	27.6	33.7	8.9	10.1	11.3	11.3	25.3	31.5	19.6	45+	P.M.
General average	...	59.5	69.9	69.4	75.5	60.7	63.2	39.4	42.5	49.4	51.9	55.7	60 6	8.1		
Per cent of mechanical errors	....	....	14.8	....	8.1	....	3.9	....	7.3	....	4.8					
Number of pupils examined	....	....	1,422	....	1,593	....	1,285	....	974	....	689	Total, 5,963.				

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former city than in those of the latter. On the other hand, many thoughtful educators would not accept this offhand statement, but would claim that so many factors come into play in the education of the child that it is impossible to tell to what extent results are due to the teaching and in how far they are modified by other causes.

It is evident, therefore, that in seeking an explanation for the differences in the results, two factors must be taken into consideration: first, the influence of the teaching; and, secondly, the resistance against that influence due to circumstances over which the teacher has no direct control. It may be argued that if the resistance be great, superior teaching may be followed by poor results, and, on the other hand, that if the resistance be small, inferior teaching may be rewarded by excellent results. But it must also be admitted that if the resistance be equal, good results in one case and poor results in another must be credited to a difference in the quality of the teaching.

That the amount of resistance offered by non-pedagogical influences is to-day unknown does not by any means indicate that it must forever remain unknown. On the contrary, the problem of modifying conditions is not at all difficult to solve if we will but look it squarely in the face, divide it into its component parts, and study each factor independently. Analysis of the problem will show that the essential elements of which it is composed do not exceed three in number: (1) The home environment of the pupils; (2) the size of the classes; and (3) the average age of the children.

Now there is no mystery in regard to any of these points. All the facts may be readily ascertained and their value determined without great difficulty. As to the home environment of the pupils, the neighborhood in which a school is placed will be frequently sufficient to tell the story. Some schools are attended, for the most part, by children whose parents are considerably above the average in culture and material possessions; in others, the majority of the pupils are from homes where the parents themselves are less cultured and less favorably situated financially, but are fully as solicitous for the welfare of their children; while some schools are situated in the slums, where the pupils have the poorest of supervision at home. In regard to the size of the classes and the average age of the pupils, the facts are, of course, at hand.

A study of the figures in the table from these several standpoints will show conclusively that the influence of all these factors has been very much exaggerated, and, therefore, that the cause of unfavorable results must be sought, largely, at least, on the pedagogical side. I shall

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not attempt, in the present paper, to enter into the discussion of the pedagogical aspect of the problem, but shall try to throw some light on that phase in my next article. Here I shall merely endeavor to show that in suggesting a standard as to time and results, the complicating conditions have all been considered.

If the part that is played by the home environment should be as important as it is generally supposed to be, we should, of course, expect to find that the schools represented in the upper part of the table had been attended by children from cultured homes, while those in the lower part had been attended by those whose home environment was very poor. However, if a line should be drawn across the middle of the table, and the schools above it compared with those below, such a condition would not be found. Indeed, careful inspection would show that the odds were certainly not in favor of the "aristocratic" districts. Of the eighteen schools, three in particular are representative of the latter, and the best of these secured the tenth place, while the others ranked eleventh and sixteenth, respectively. The school that ranked seventh was distinctively a school of the slums. That is to say, the school laboring under the poorest conditions in respect to home environment obtained a better standing than any one of the so-called aristocratic schools. The building which stands fifth is representative of conditions just a shade better than those of the slums. And when I add that, from the standpoint of environment, the schools of City I did not average a single degree better than those of Cities VI and VII, I have said enough to show that the poor results secured in the latter cities cannot be condoned on the ground of unfavorable environment. Thus, as in spelling, so in arithmetic, this mountain, upon close inspection, dwindles down to the size of a molehill.

Equally surprising, if indeed not more incredible, may appear the statement that no allowance whatever is to be made for the size of the class in judging the results of my test. I shall not enter into the details in regard to this point, but will dismiss it with the remark that the number of pupils per class was larger in the highest six schools than it was in the schools of City VI, and that the classes were exceptionally small in the school that stands at the lower end.

The relation between the age of the pupil and his arithmetical power is a question which has been very widely discussed. Some educators have taken the stand that there is not much object in laying stress on arithmetic in the early years; that arithmetical power increases naturally with age; and that any deficiency that may be manifest in the

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lower grades will be readily compensated for by the rapidity with which the children progress when they enter the higher ones. The belief has, therefore, become quite general that there is a direct relation between age and results; and for this reason many teachers might be inclined to attribute the variations in results to differences in the ages of the pupils, grade for grade, in the different schools.

As in other pedagogical problems, so in this, facts prove how little dependence is to be placed on *a priori* reasoning. That there is a regular improvement in arithmetic as the child at school advances in years is perfectly true and this point is very clearly shown by the fact that, with very few exceptions, the class averages on the repeated problems improve from grade to grade. But this in itself does not give us the information we are seeking. In the first place, the figures alone do not tell us to what extent the improvement was due to age, in how far it was the result of practice, or what part had been played by instruction. Besides, it should not be forgotten that the problem with which we are now dealing is not a qualitative, but a quantitative, one. That children improve as they advance from grade to grade may be taken for granted. It is the rate of progress with which we are concerned.

That the differences in results in the schools examined were not due to differences in age may be readily shown by eliminating the age factor entirely, which may be done by taking the age of the pupils instead of the grade as the basis of comparison. For this purpose Table II has been prepared. That table is based on the results obtained upon problems that were carried through three grades. The fourth, fifth, and sixth year papers contained three problems in common, and this is true also of the papers for the sixth, seventh, and eighth grades.[1] The table shows, first, the results obtained in the fourth, fifth, and sixth grades of the highest six schools as compared with the lowest six, taken collectively, upon the repeated problems; secondly, those obtained upon the repeated problems in the sixth, seventh, and eighth grades of the highest five schools as compared with the lowest six; and, thirdly, the average ages of the pupils in the grades and schools stated.

I did not have an opportunity to obtain the ages of the pupils of all the schools considered in Table II. However, in computing the average ages the majority of these schools were represented, and the complete returns could not have changed the figures more than a month or two one way or the other. If the comparisons had been made between the schools where the ages had all been obtained, the showing would have

[1] See the first three problems for the sixth and eighth years on pp. 296 and 297.

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been practically the same as in the table. Moreover, in arithmetic, the differences in the results are so very marked all along the line that microscopic distinctions are in no way called for.

TABLE II.

	4		5		6			6		7		8	
	Average age.	Per cent.	Average age.	Per cent.	Average age.	Per cent.		Average age.	Per cent.	Average age.	Per cent.	Average age.	Per cent.
Six highest schools	11.9	62.8	12.6	84.3	13.4	96.3	Five highest schools	13.4	49.5	14.1	71.9	14.11	90.4
Six lowest schools	11.0	29.0	12.0	49.8	13.4	61.4	Six lowest schools...	13.4	11.0	13.11	29.0	14.5	38.0

A glance at the ages will show that the average age of the pupils of the schools that showed the best results was about five months higher than that of the pupils of the schools that did poorest. For the fourth grade the difference was nine months, and for the fifth and eighth grades, six months. In the sixth and seventh grades, however, the ages were practically the same. But the factor of age may be completely eliminated by comparing the results of a given grade of the successful schools with those of a higher grade of the unsuccessful ones. Thus, in the fourth grade of the successful schools the average was 62.8, as against 49.8 in the fifth year, and 61.4 in the sixth year of the unsuccessful ones. Consequently, in this instance, the results in the unsuccessful schools did not equal those of the successful ones until the pupils were nineteen months older and had had the advantage of two years' additional instruction and practice.

Similar comparisons in regard to the higher grades show even a greater disparity, as the eighth year pupils of the unsuccessful schools did not even catch up to those of the sixth year of the successful ones. In the case of the sixth and seventh year classes, where the ages were practically alike, the full class averages may be compared. For the sixth year they were 75.6 as against 41.1; and for the seventh year 61.4 as against 22.8. These facts certainly constitute a striking blow at the theory of those who believe that arithmetic is a matter of natural evolution.

One other point here calls for consideration. The idea is generally accepted that an examination in arithmetic given in the morning will show much more favorable results than one given in the afternoon; and

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it might, therefore, be supposed that the schools that did best had been examined in the morning, and *vice versa*.

When the table is analyzed from this standpoint the indications appear to favor the theory; but the quantitative aspect has certainly been exaggerated. Looking at the facts, we find that the first four schools in the order of merit had been examined in the morning. However, in the school which stands fifth, the examination was given in the afternoon, and the average was 64 per cent, or only 3 per cent lower than that of the school next preceding, and 5 per cent lower than the school that ranked third. The point of particular interest is the fact that the school, by being examined in the afternoon, did not lose its classification. The first three schools of City I were examined in the morning and did well. The fourth school of that city was examined in the afternoon and also did well.

In City VI, School 1 was examined in the morning, and did 3 per cent better than those examined in the afternoon, obtaining an average of 39 as against 36; and School 1, City VII, by being examined in the morning, secured an average of 40 per cent. In a word, Schools 2 and 3, City VI, were examined in the afternoon and did poorly; School 1 of the same city was examined in the morning and also did poorly. And the same remarks apply to City VII. Thus, while there seems to be some advantage in an examination given in the morning, the figures appear to leave no doubt that a school that can do well in the morning can also do well in the afternoon, and, conversely, that a school that does poorly in the afternoon will also do poorly in the morning. I have heard it stated that the difference between a morning and an afternoon examination will probably reach 20 per cent. If so, what would have been the result if School 1, City VI, and School 1, City VII, had been examined in the afternoon?

Now, taking all the facts into consideration, which of the schools examined may be said to have made a satisfactory showing? Personally, I believe the demand is not placed too high when the line dividing the satisfactory from the unsatisfactory schools is drawn across the table under School 4, City I, the last of the buildings making creditable averages in all the grades. In the school next in order the results were more than satisfactory in the fourth, fifth, and sixth grades, but unsatisfactory in the seventh and eighth. All the other schools showed too many weak spots to be passed as satisfactory.

The general average for all schools examined was, in round numbers, 55 per cent, made up as follows: 60 per cent for the fourth year, 70

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per cent for the fifth, 60 per cent for the sixth, 40 per cent for the seventh, and 50 per cent for the eighth. In view of what the satisfactory schools have shown, it seems to me that 60 per cent for the fourth grade, 70 per cent for the fifth, and 60 per cent for the sixth are reasonable expectations. However, 40 per cent for the seventh grade and 50 per cent for the eighth are too low, as these figures are not at all representative of what the successful schools have been able to accomplish, but result from the fact that, in the majority of instances, the seventh and eighth grades were lamentably weak. As the average for the seventh grade of the five successful schools was 61.4, and that for the eighth grade 77.2, I think that less than 50 per cent for the seventh year and 60 per cent for the eighth should not be regarded as satisfactory. This would raise the general average from 55 to 60. But a school average of 60 per cent or more should not be looked upon as satisfactory unless the grade averages were met in four cases out of the five. A provision for failure in one grade is reasonable, because there may have been particular causes of failure in an individual class. The children may have been exceptionally dull, or the class may have been in the hands of a substitute, etc. But, in my opinion, failure in more than one grade denotes a weakness which calls for a remedy. The above figures apply to a test taken at, or any time after, the middle of the year.

In suggesting a standard, it is, of course, understood that the figures mentioned in the last paragraph would only be applicable to an examination whose degree of difficulty were the same as my own. Teachers desirous of knowing how their pupils compare with those of other schools could try the questions as I have given them, or, if they feared that the publication of the problems had diminished the value of the test, they might change the figures without altering the degree of difficulty. However, in due course of time there ought to be no difficulty in establishing standards in arithmetic with mathematical precision. This may be quite readily done by selecting types of examples and determining by research what percentage ought to be obtained on each of them by the class for which they are intended. When this point has been reached, a standard will also have been fixed for a combination of examples of various degrees of difficulty.

In the present article I shall not endeavor to suggest a standard in regard to the mechanical side of arithmetic, as a discussion of the details of that phase of the question would carry us too far. I merely wish to call attention to a fact which may appear strange to the majority of teachers, namely, that, from the standpoint of results, the mechanical

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side of arithmetic has shown itself to be very closely related to the thought side. In other words, the schools that showed the best thinking also made the smallest number of mechanical errors. Indeed, when we compare the first six schools in the table with the last six, we find the school average 69.7 as against 35.8, or double, while the percentage of mechanical errors is 6.1 as against 13, or half. Therefore, broadly speaking, a stipulated demand in regard to the thought side of arithmetic includes, indirectly, a demand in relation to the mechanical side.

A glance at the general average of mechanical errors shows a marked improvement from the fourth grade to the sixth, the percentages being 14.8, 8.1, and 3.9 respectively. Thus, broadly speaking, only half as many errors were made in the fifth year as in the fourth, and only half as many in the sixth year as in the fifth. That the improvement in mechanical arithmetic should be so decided from grade to grade may be readily explained by the fact that simple computation appeals altogether to the memory, which fixes the various combinations of numbers more and more firmly as the result of endless repetition.

The figures show that the number of mechanical errors was larger in the seventh and eighth years than in the sixth. This, however, does not indicate retrogression, but is due to the fact that the basis of comparison was not the same. In the two upper grades the mistakes were made principally in the placing of the decimal point — an element that did not come into play, to any considerable extent, in the lower grades. The seventh and eighth year classes, however, are again compared on practically the same basis, and, as before, the difference is marked in favor of the higher grade.

Let us now see what can be learned from Table I as to the relation between the time devoted to arithmetic and the results. We shall then be in a position to form an estimate regarding the amount of time that should be allowed with a view to the accomplishment of satisfactory results.

A glance at the figures will tell us at once that there is no direct relation between time and result; that special pressure does not necessarily lead to success, and, conversely, that lack of pressure does not necessarily mean failure.

In the first place, it is interesting to note that the amount of time devoted to arithmetic in the school that obtained the lowest average — 25 per cent — was practically the same as it was in the one where the highest average — 80 per cent — was obtained. In the former the regular time for arithmetic in all the grades was forty-five minutes a day,

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but some additional time was given. In the latter the time varied in the different classes, but averaged fifty-three minutes daily. This shows an extreme variation in results under the same appropriation of time.

Looking again toward the bottom of the list, we find three schools with an average of 36 per cent. In one of these, insufficient pressure might be suggested as a reason for the unsatisfactory results, only thirty minutes daily having been devoted to arithmetic. The second school, however, gave forty-eight, while the third gave seventy-five. This certainly seems to indicate that a radical defect in the quality of instruction cannot be offset by an increase in quantity.

If we now turn our attention from the three schools just mentioned and direct it to three near the top — Schools 2, 3, and 4, City I — we find the conditions reversed; for while the two schools that gave forty-five minutes made averages of 64 per cent and 67 per cent, respectively, the school that gave only twenty-five minutes succeeded in obtaining an average of 69 per cent. This would appear to indicate that while, on the one hand, nothing is gained by an increase of time where the instruction in arithmetic is faulty, on the other hand, nothing is lost by a decrease of time, to a certain point, where the schools are on the right path in teaching the subject. Perhaps the most interesting feature of the table is the fact that the school giving twenty-five minutes a day came out within two of the top, while the school giving seventy-five minutes daily came out practically within one of the bottom.

From these few facts two important deductions may be made: First, that the unsatisfactory results cannot be accounted for on the ground of insufficient instruction; and, secondly, that the schools showing the favorable results cannot be accused of having made a fetich of arithmetic. These statements are further justified by the fact that the four schools of City I, which, on the whole, stood highest, gave 25 per cent less time to arithmetic, on the average, than the three schools of City VII, which stood lowest. In City I, the time averaged forty-three minutes, and the results 69.5. In City VII, the time averaged fifty-four minutes, and the results 33.4. Again, the schools of City IV, where the average was a little over 50, had devoted 40 per cent more time to arithmetic than the schools of City I, where the average, as I have stated, was 69.5.

Now, bearing in mind the standard suggested in regard to the results, what should be set down as a reasonable time allowance?

A glance at Table I will show us that out of the eighteen schools examined, five only succeeded in obtaining satisfactory results, and that

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the time devoted to arithmetic in these schools varied from twenty-five to sixty minutes a day. Taking the schools in the order of merit, the time allotment was fifty-three, sixty, twenty-five, forty-five, and forty-five minutes, respectively. Thus, in three cases out of the five, success was obtained within a time limit of forty-five minutes. That the highest two schools had given fifty-three and sixty, respectively, does not indicate that they could not have met the demand if the time had been limited to forty-five. Indeed, the results secured in the school at the top show such a very large margin above the demand that a reduction of eight minutes per day could not have sufficed to shatter the structure, and a similar assumption may be made in the case of the school standing next. As the conditions under which the five successful schools labored were not in any way exceptional, I think it is perfectly reasonable to say that the results ought to be satisfactory if the time be limited to forty-five minutes a day. All the schools that succeeded proved their ability to do the work in forty-five minutes, and most of the schools that failed proved their inability to succeed in spite of a much larger appropriation of time.

While the facts appear to indicate that forty-five minutes will suffice, they do not show that that amount of time is actually required to accomplish satisfactory results. It is true that out of the five schools giving less than forty-five minutes, the results were unsatisfactory in four. Of the latter, one school gave forty-two minutes and obtained an average of 40 per cent, an average so far below the margin that an additional three minutes could not possibly have saved the day. Similar remarks are applicable to the school where a time allotment of forty minutes was followed by an average of 45 per cent. In City VI, the schools that gave thirty and thirty-three minutes, respectively, obtained averages of only 36 and 39 per cent; but in the other school of that locality, where the time was forty-eight minutes, the results were not any better. It is clear, therefore, that the failure in these four unsuccessful schools was not due simply to the fact that the time was less than forty-five minutes. Moreover, the school that gave only twenty-five minutes did considerably more than meet the demand.

In spelling, it was not difficult to draw conclusions as to the limit of useful instruction — the point where attention and effort cease and beyond which additional pressure is not rewarded by additional return. A large proportion of the schools having reduced the time, it was possible to institute comparisons on a broad scale between the results obtained where much time had been devoted to spelling and those secured where

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but little time had been given to it; and it was seen that the schools devoting forty minutes a day to spelling did not do any better than the schools where but ten or fifteen minutes had been given to the subject. This proved that there was nothing to be gained by continuing the instruction beyond fifteen minutes a day. In arithmetic, on the other hand, the basis of comparison from the standpoint of time is not nearly so wide, as it is still the custom in the vast majority of the schools to devote at least forty-five minutes daily to the subject.

In the case of the school that succeeded with twenty-five minutes, the class organization is suggestive. Here each class is divided into two groups, and direct instruction in arithmetic is given for twenty-five minutes to one of the groups, while the other is at work upon some other branch. In the next two schools the classes are also divided into two groups. Of these, one receives direct instruction in arithmetic half the period of forty-five minutes, but devotes the other half to silent work in arithmetic. Under these circumstances it is interesting to inquire whether the children did not get the full benefit of the instruction during the time they spent with the teacher, about twenty-five minutes, and whether they would not have progressed at the same rate if they had given the remainder of the period to some other work.

However, as we are working on a basis of fact, not one of conjecture, we must wait for future investigation to throw more definite light on the matter. For the present, let us accept forty-five minutes as a reasonable time allowance for arithmetic; but let us reduce the allowance if we should succeed in finding a reasonable number of schools showing satisfactory results with less instruction.

The discussion in the preceding pages has tended to show that arithmetic presents certain difficulties which are quite readily overcome in some schools, while seemingly insurmountable in others. As the teachers, taken all in all, were apparently as conscientious and as well trained in the schools that failed as in those that succeeded, it is reasonable to suppose that the principal cause of failure has been a matter of misdirected effort. But whatever the trouble may be, it is evident that its nature must be clearly understood before remedial measures can be intelligently discussed. Therefore, the next step in our researches must lie in endeavoring to discover the source of the trouble; and I expect to be able to present some facts regarding this point in my next article.

J. M. Rice.

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Fourth Year.

1. A man bought a lot of land for $1,743, and built upon it a house costing $5,482. He sold them both for $10,000. How much money did he make?

2. If a boy pays $2.83 for a hundred papers, and sells them at four cents apiece, how much money does he make?

3. If there were 4,839 class-rooms in New York City, and 47 children in each class-room, how many children would there be in the New York schools?

4. A man bought a farm for $16,575, paying $85 an acre. How many acres were there in the farm?

5. What will 24 quarts of cream cost at $1.20 a gallon?

6. A lady bought 4 pounds of coffee at 27 cents a pound, 16 pounds of flour at 4 cents a pound, 15 pounds of sugar at 6 cents a pound, and a basket of peaches for 95 cents. She handed the storekeeper a $10 note. How much change did she receive?

7. I have $9,786. How much more must I have in order to be able to pay for a farm worth $17,225?

8. If I buy 8 dozen pencils at 37 cents a dozen, and sell them at 5 cents apiece, how much money do I make?

Fifth Year.

1. A man bought a lot of land for $1,743, and built upon it a house costing $5,482. He sold them both together for $10,000. How much did he make?

2. If a boy pays $2.83 for a hundred papers, and sells them at four cents apiece, how much does he make?

3. What will 24 quarts of cream cost at $1.20 a gallon?

4. If I buy 8 dozen pencils at 37 cents a dozen, and sell them at 5 cents apiece, how much money do I make?

5. A flour merchant bought 1,437 barrels of flour at $7 a barrel. He sold 900 of these barrels at $9 a barrel, and the remainder at $6 a barrel. How much did he make?

6. How many feet long is a telegraph wire extending from New York to New Haven, a distance of 74 miles? There are 5,280 feet in a mile.

7. A merchant bought 15 pieces of cloth, each containing 62 yards. He sold 234 yards. How many dress patterns of 12 yards each did he have left?

8. Frank had $3.08. He spent $\frac{1}{4}$ of it for a cap, $\frac{1}{7}$ of it for a ball, and with the remainder bought a book. How much did the book cost?

Sixth Year.

1. If a boy pays $2.83 for a hundred papers, and sells them at 4 cents apiece, how much does he make?

2. What will 24 quarts of cream cost at $1.20 a gallon?

3. If I buy 8 dozen pencils at 37 cents a dozen, and sell them at 5 cents apiece, how much do I make?

4. A flour merchant bought 1,437 barrels of flour at $7 a barrel. He sold 900 of these barrels at $9 a barrel, and the remainder at $6 a barrel. How much did he make?

5. If a train runs 31$\frac{3}{8}$ miles an hour, how long will it take the train to run from Buffalo to Omaha, a distance of 1,045 miles?

6. If a map 10 inches wide and 16 inches long is made on a scale of 50 miles to the inch, what is the area in square miles that the map represents?

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7. The salt water which was obtained from the bottom of a mine of rock salt contained 0.08 of its weight of pure salt. What weight of salt water was it necessary to evaporate in order to obtain 3,896 pounds of salt?

8. A gentleman gave away $\frac{1}{7}$ of the books in his library, lent $\frac{1}{6}$ of the remainder, and sold $\frac{1}{5}$ of what was left. He then had 420 books remaining. How many had he at first?

Seventh Year.

1. If a map 10 inches wide and 16 inches long is made on a scale of 50 miles to the inch, what is the area in square miles that the map represents?

2. The salt water which was obtained from the bottom of a mine of rock salt contained 0.08 of its weight of pure salt. What weight of salt water was it necessary to evaporate in order to obtain 3,896 pounds of salt?

3. A gentleman gave away $\frac{1}{7}$ of the books in his library, lent $\frac{1}{6}$ of the remainder, and sold $\frac{1}{5}$ of what was left. He then had 420 books remaining. How many had he at first?

4. A farmer's wife bought 2.75 yards of table linen at $0.87 a yard and 16 yards of flannel at $0.55 a yard. She paid in butter at $0.27 a pound. How many pounds of butter was she obliged to give?

5. If coffee sold at 33 cents a pound gives a profit of 10 per cent, what per cent of profit would there be if it were sold at 36 cents a pound?

6. Sold steel at $27.60 a ton, with a profit of 15 per cent, and a total profit of $184.50. What quantity was sold?

7. If a woman can weave 1 inch of rag carpet a yard wide in 4 minutes, how many hours will she be obliged to work in order to weave the carpet for a room 24 feet long and 24 feet wide? No deduction is to be made for waste.

8. A fruit dealer bought 300 apples at the rate of 5 for a cent, and 300 at 4 for a cent. He sold them all at the rate of 8 for 5 cents. What per cent did he gain on his investment?

Eighth Year.

1. If a map 10 inches wide and 16 inches long is made on a scale of 50 miles to the inch, what is the area in square miles that the map represents?

2. The salt water which was obtained from the bottom of a mine of rock salt contained 0.08 of its weight of pure salt. What weight of salt water was it necessary to evaporate in order to obtain 3,896 pounds of salt?

3. A gentleman gave away $\frac{1}{7}$ of the books in his library, lent $\frac{1}{6}$ of the remainder, and sold $\frac{1}{5}$ of what was left. He then had 420 books remaining. How many had he at first?

4. A man sold 50 horses at $126.00 each. On one-half of them he made 20 per cent, and on the other half he lost 10 per cent. How much did he gain?

5. Sold steel at $27.60 a ton, with a profit of 15 per cent, and a total profit of $184.50. What quantity was sold?

6. A fruit dealer bought 300 apples at the rate of 5 for a cent, and 300 at 4 for a cent. He sold them all at the rate of 8 for 5 cents. What per cent did he gain on his investment?

7. The insurance on $\frac{3}{4}$ of the value of a hotel and furniture cost $420.00. The rate being 70 cents on $100.00, what was the value of the property?

8. Gunpowder is composed of nitre 15 parts, charcoal 3 parts, and sulphur 2 parts. How much of each in 360 pounds of powder?

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THE POLITICAL SITUATION IN RUSSIA.

ONCE more within a generation is the attention of the world attracted to the internal troubles of Russia. Within one year two cabinet ministers have been assassinated; and attempts upon the lives of the procurator of the Holy Synod, two governors, and a chief of police have followed in rapid succession. What lends significance to the situation is not the facts themselves. Assassination of persons high in authority has occurred in all ages, in all countries, and under all forms of government. It is the attitude of the public in Russia that is ominous. The indignation over the murderous assault upon President McKinley was sincere and universal, and the mentally unbalanced assassin was disavowed even by those upon whom public sentiment sought to fasten the moral responsibility for the crime. In Russia, on the contrary, the Government has deemed it necessary to proclaim a state of siege in the most populous sections of the country; and sympathy with the slayers of the ministers is widespread among the college-bred class and factory operatives. On the other hand, the reports of the obsequies of the assassinated ministers contain no mention of any expression of condolence coming from bodies of private citizens.

The leading part played by the body of university students in all political troubles in Russia has ever been a source of perplexity to the American reader, to whom the image of a college young man or woman suggests the familiar pranks and healthy enjoyment of life natural to youth. The sight is not without a parallel, however, in the history of European nations; the activity of the students in all revolutions in France, Germany, Austria, and Italy during the first half of the last century being still in the memory of the older generation. In Russia, the student disturbances date as far back as the early sixties. For forty years the Government has tried the policy of repression, with the result that outbreaks are recurring with the periodicity of a physical law. Hundreds of students are, at regular intervals, suspended for a year, sometimes for two or three years. A reader with a statistical bent of mind may calculate the number of discontented abroad among people of col-

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lege breeding. The forcible enlistment of 183 students for service in the army two years ago was the signal for disorders which rapidly extended to all institutions of higher learning throughout the Empire. The students, some 30,000, went out on strike. The call was almost universally obeyed, and the professors found their class-rooms deserted. The fathers and grandfathers of the present generation of students do not recall anything approaching the dimensions and intensity of this movement.

What is at the bottom of this discontent? The conservative view traces it to the machinations of agitators playing their diabolical game upon inexperienced youthful minds. The explanation does not explain. The agitator would certainly find ampler freedom in an American university, and yet up to the present writing he has failed to put in an appearance. A more substantial explanation is suggested by the liberals, who point to the defective organization of the universities as the cause of chronic friction between the students and the authorities. The Russian university lacks the essentials of college life, as understood in this country. Imagine a body of 1,000, sometimes 2,000 or 3,000, students without class meetings or class officers, without literary or debating societies, without boarding clubs, without a college paper, without even a university library where the boys could exchange a few words in a whisper. The University Act regards the students as "individual callers at the university." With all its uniformed and detective police, however, the Government has been unable to enforce obedience to the law; within the last quarter of a century student organizations having grown up everywhere, with a central council in each city. These central councils keep more or less in touch with one another, whereby unity of action is rendered possible in an emergency. The plans and objects of such an organization are substantially identical with those of the fraternal orders in America. Under Section 320 of the Penal Code, however, joining a society which resorts to any means in order to conceal from the Government its existence, organization, or object, or to maintain secrecy over its meetings, discussions, and communications among its members, is punished with imprisonment ranging from seven days in a bridewell to eight months in a military fort, even "where it does not appear that the society has been formed for any unlawful purpose." Moreover, under Section 323, "all those having knowledge of the existence of unlawful societies contemplated by Section 318, who shall fail to inform the Government thereof," are likewise liable to fine or imprisonment. There are many students who are not affiliated with these "countrymen's

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associations," as they are called; but there can be none without a knowledge of their existence, as the membership of every chapter is composed of graduates of the same high school who have grown up together from childhood. It can well be imagined that the *esprit de corps* which would discourage "squealing" in an American military academy is equally strong in a Russian university. Thus, the only effect of the law is to force the ways and habits of conspirators upon the more energetic, and to create among the entire body of students a public opinion in sympathy with defiance of the law.

The students of twenty years ago are the physicians, the lawyers, the engineers, the journalists, the public men of to-day. To say the least, they show an indifferent attitude toward assaults upon the Government. The leading administration paper, "Moscovskiya Vedomosti," accuses the *intelliguentzia* (the educated class) of secretly sympathizing with the enemies of the Government. It is a fact that of all the monthly magazines there is only one supporting the Government, and its circulation is very limited. Another magazine of the same political persuasion, the "Russian Review," ultimately failed, and was compelled to suspend publication, notwithstanding liberal aid received at various times from the Emperor's private purse. The leading metropolitan dailies, as well as the majority of the country papers, are opposed to the Administration.

Since the acquittal by a St. Petersburg jury of Vera Zassoolitch, the girl who shot and wounded the chief of police of St. Petersburg, on February 5, 1878, jury trial for assaults upon officers of the Government has been suspended. This is an admission of distrust of the middle and upper classes, there being an educational qualification for service on the jury.

Were this opposition actuated by purely idealistic motives, its stability would be open to doubt. The fact is, however, that the disaffection of the educated classes grows from economic causes for which the Government is directly responsible. Journalists, teachers, lecturers, and authors find their fields of usefulness confined within narrow limits imposed by the policy of the Government. There are, in all, about 1,000 newspapers and periodicals licensed in Russia, whereas in the United States there are twenty times as many for a population little over one-half that of Russia. There are very few primary schools; and the establishment of new schools by the county councils (*zemstvo*) or private persons is discouraged, while teaching without a license is punished with a fine.[1]

[1] Penal Code, sections 1049, 1050, and 1052.

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A fine is likewise imposed upon parents and guardians who entrust their children to unlicensed teachers.[1] The law is by no means a dead letter, though many cases may escape the vigilance of the police; but where people must act like conspirators in order to teach "the three R's," the situation does not inspire respect for the law or the Government.

It is not surprising to find in all cities, great and small, an exceedingly large number of educated men and women "looking for a job" and finding none, though willing to do almost any work for a pittance. To relieve the overcrowding of the professions, "the sons of coachmen, waiters, and washerwomen" were, by an order of the late Minister of Education, Count Delianoff, barred from admission to high schools and universities. It was thought that men of low birth raised by education beyond their station in life were the real fomenters of discontent. Fifteen years have since rolled by — time enough to weed out from the universities and technical schools these "undesirable elements" — and the unrest is more intense to-day among the sons of noblemen than it was a generation ago, when the sons of the poor country clergy were the dominant element in the universities. Russian statesmen have left out of consideration the impoverishment of the nobility itself, which has been going on ever since the abolition of serfdom. Prior to the reform, the landed nobility were supported by the labor of their peasants; and the military career and occasionally the higher offices in the civil service were favored for the honor, not for the emoluments. The mere drudgery of clerical work was left to the landless office-holding nobility. The emancipation of the peasants brought ruin to a large portion of the landed nobility, and compelled their children to earn their living. Nearly all lines of brain work being controlled by the state, their choice of employment was practically confined to the civil service. The needs of the state, however, did not grow apace with the rapidly multiplying numbers of applicants, while the old limitations upon private initiative still curtailed their opportunities in the fields for which they were best fitted by education. Thus there has grown up within the nobility an intellectual proletariat, with whom political reform is a question of bread and butter.

Still, so long as the discontent was confined to the upper classes, they were "a staff without an army." In the face of a standing army inspiring wholesome fear to first-class military powers, the very thought of an open revolt would have been laughable. The *tundras* of Siberia are vast enough to hold all actual or presumptive "enemies of the throne

[1] Penal Code, section 1051.

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and their country;" and the Government is not hampered by constitutional limitations or legal technicalities in dealing with malcontents. By virtue of the "Act relating to measures for the preservation of public order," any suspicious character may be deported to Siberia for a number of years, by executive order, without the formality of a trial.

A new factor, however, has come to the foreground in all recent disturbances, namely, the factory operatives. The protective tariff has, within the last two decades, built up great industries in Russia. Since 1880, according to official reports, the production of iron ore in Russia has more than quadrupled, that of iron has more than trebled, and that of coal has likewise trebled. The number of spindles has increased by 150 per cent. This industrial development has called into being a large factory population, which has brought in its train the labor problem. According to a report made by the Russian delegation to the International Labor Congress, which was held at Paris during the exposition of 1900, incomplete returns for the five years preceding gave over 200 strikes, involving more than 200,000 operatives. An organized strike in the English or American sense is prohibited by the Russian law. Employees may quit work as individuals, if they are not bound by contract; but they can have no organization, hold no meetings, collect no dues, distribute no strike benefits, print no circulars. In short, there is no legitimate way in which they can hold communication with one another.

Now we know that the entire machinery of the police department, outnumbering many times the aggregate enrolment of all the universities, has so far failed to stamp out secret clubs and societies among students. How large a police force, then, would be required to cope successfully with organizations affiliated, albeit loosely, with 200,000 workmen in all manufacturing cities? The task is absolutely impossible of accomplishment. Labor papers are to-day published from "underground" presses in every large manufacturing centre; May-day circulars are distributed among workmen by tens of thousands; labor demonstrations in St. Petersburg, Moscow, and Kiev have assumed dimensions which would be quite out of the ordinary for a labor-day parade in New York or Chicago. It is told by an eye-witness that at the latest open-air meeting at St. Petersburg the Nevsky, a street as broad as Pennsylvania Avenue, Washington, D. C., was crowded from the Anitchkov Palace to the Morskaya, a distance of a dozen blocks.

Severe measures of repression have been resorted to, and thousands of workmen have been expelled from St. Petersburg and domiciled at

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their respective residences. What is likely to be the effect of this policy may be judged by the examples of the past. A case in point is presented by the famous strike of 1884 at the huge Morozov Cotton Mills near Moscow, of which the late Mr. Katkov, the Charles E. Dana of Russian journalism, wrote that it "had inaugurated the labor problem in Russia." In 1878 a weaver, Peter Moseyenko, was arrested as a leader in a strike at the New Cotton Mills of St. Petersburg, and was subsequently deported without trial to Siberia, whence he was permitted to return in 1883. He secured employment at the Morozov Cotton Mills, where he met some of his St. Petersburg associates in the strike of 1878, and soon had organized a secret club of about fifty members of the most popular workmen, before whom he lectured on political economy and the labor problem. This club served as the nucleus of an organization which within a year gained sufficient influence to declare a strike at the mills, 12,000 operatives responding to the call.

There are men in the service of the Government who are fully conscious of the impotence of the traditional policy of repression. Most conspicuous among them is Chief Zoobatov of the Moscow secret service. About eighteen years ago Mr. Zoobatov, then a high-school boy, was arrested among a number of other young men and girls who had organized a secret revolutionary society. He was persuaded to become a witness for the state, was granted immunity from prosecution, and appointed to the detective force looking after political conspirators. He has since devoted himself to a close study of socialism and the labor problem, and is said, by persons who have met him, to be well read in the literature of the subject. His abilities have been appreciated, and to-day he is one of the rising stars on the firmament of Russian statesmanship. He urges a policy like that of Napoleon III, a benevolent Cæsarism, showing a degree of consideration to labor in its daily disputes with capital over hours and wages, and war to the knife against political agitators and social theorists. To wrest the control of labor organizations from revolutionary leadership, he would make them legal.

Some timid attempts in this direction have been made here and there. In Moscow and one or two other cities workingmen's clubs have been organized by permission where university professors lecture on labor and related topics, and a discussion is allowed after the lecture. In a few cities, meetings presided over by the local chief of the secret police have been held for the object of organizing workmen's mutual benefit associations. In Minsk, an "Independent Labor Party" has been organized by authority, its declared aim being to divorce the labor move-

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ment from politics. Should Mr. Zoobatov attain the ends of his ambition and have the labor movement "legalized" without equivocation, it would be as signal a victory for labor as the British Act of 1824, by which the Combination Laws were repealed. Whether such a reform would accomplish the aim of its sponsor by reconciling labor to a system of government in which it has no voice is a question admitting of more than one answer. That it would be interpreted by many as the outcome of the present agitation and as an earnest of future concessions is certain. That is one good reason why so radical a departure from the traditional policy is not likely to find favor with more conservative statesmen.

The appointment of Mr. von Plehwe to the post of Minister of the Interior shows determination on the part of the Government to follow the old course. Mr. von Plehwe has earned distinction in the Russianizing campaign in Finland, where he had to contend against great odds, as may be judged from the fact that an address to the Grand Duke Nicholas II, protesting against the overthrow of the constitution, received the signature of every male citizen. Such difficulties do not exist in Russia, where the majority of the peasantry are illiterate and devoted to the Czar.

It is generally believed that "so long as the peasant remains as he is, the Russian autocracy can neither be touched nor shaken." Still the latest peasant disturbances in Southern Russia are apt to recall to mind Æsop's Woodman and his devoted Bear. Last spring a spurious ukase, purporting to come from the Czar, gained wide circulation among the peasants of three districts (counties) in the provinces of Poltava and Kharkov. The "ukase" ordered an equal division of all lands and farm property among the tillers of the soil; and the peasants were commanded to see to it that the order was obeyed, and, if need be, to use force against disloyal noblemen and officials resisting the will of the Czar. As a result, toward the end of March large crowds of peasants congregated before the country houses of the landed nobility and demanded food and fodder. When met with refusal, they threatened to come back and take "their own" by force. The threats were soon followed by rioting, which was kept up for a week, from April 9 to 16. According to the official account eighty-one estates were completely devastated.[1] The peasants came with their teams and carried away whatever they found in the barns; cattle were driven away and farming

[1] Published in the *Pravitelstvennyi Vestnik* and reprinted in all Russian papers on or about April 30 (May 13).

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implements taken along; a large sugar factory was dismantled and 500 tons of sugar were removed. The peasants yelled: "Take it all; you must do as written in the edict; it is all ours." Troops were called out, but their presence did not stop the rioting. While they were engaged in one place, the peasants went on undismayed in others. On one occasion the attitude of the rioters became defiant and they pelted the soldiers with stones. The troops fired, and a number of peasants were killed and wounded.

This revolt in the name of the Czar is the outgrowth of a deeply rooted belief, common among the peasantry, that Emperor Alexander II granted all the land to the peasantry, but that his will was thwarted by a conspiracy of the nobility with the petty officialdom who withheld from the people the true ukase of the Czar. Immediately upon the proclamation of the emancipation manifesto of February 19, 1861, serious disorders broke out in all parts of the country, the peasants demanding "the true ukase." Notwithstanding the suppression of the riots, the legend continued to circulate through the reign of Alexander II. Such had become the persistency of the rumors that his successor deemed it necessary to discredit them in his address to the peasant delegates assembled at his coronation on May 27, 1883. With a newspaper-reading people this would have finally settled the matter. But, owing to the ignorance of the Russian peasants, the words of the Czar reached only the few who came into personal contact with the returning delegates. With the bulk of the peasantry the belief in an impending division of the land has apparently remained unshaken.

It was the same worship of the Czar by an ignorant peasantry that accepted, in 1773, an illiterate Cossack, Poogatchov, as Emperor Peter III, ten years since dead, and enabled him for fully a year to hold one-half of the empire by force of arms against Catherine II. A century later the scheme appealed to the imagination of a small group of revolutionary socialists. In 1876 a few agitators made their headquarters in a rural district of the Province of Kiev, and within a short time succeeded in building up a secret organization with an enrolled membership of 1,000 peasants. The plot was discovered at an early stage and the organization broken up. Agitation among the peasantry was soon abandoned by the revolutionists, the task being found far beyond their numerical strength. The growth of the labor movement, however, has swelled the revolutionary ranks. Many of the factory operatives in Russia still retain a nominal residence in rural communes, and are accordingly domiciled there when expelled from the cities. We learn

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from the official communication cited above that the recent peasant riots were caused by a few agitators settled in one village. Is not the Government sowing the wind when scattering thousands of discontented workmen all over the Empire?

The underlying cause of the riots in the three districts is officially stated to have been "the economic condition of the peasants, which is not quite satisfactory, as a result of a few successive bad crops." It is further stated that the peasants were complaining of "lack of subsistence." This condition is not local. The cause of chronic bad crops and resulting "lack of subsistence" is to be found in the antiquated methods of cultivation in the central and most populous section of the country. The upper layer of the soil has become exhausted by extensive farming, and there are no vacant lands in that section, every available plot being planted with crops. A more intensive system of agriculture is needed with modern implements capable of reaching the deeper layers of the soil still unworked. Yet this requires capital and familiarity with modern agricultural methods, whereas the Russian peasant is poor and ignorant.

The ignorance of the peasantry is due to the lack of public schools and libraries. Both schools and libraries are under the absolute control of the Government. The dense ignorance of two generations of freedmen therefore justifies the inference, taking a charitable view, that the Government is incapable of educating the people. This is the indictment of enlightened public opinion in Russia against autocracy.

In truth, if one looks below the surface of things, Russian "autocracy" is a mere fiction. There have been two true autocrats only on the Russian throne. The first was the founder of the system, Peter the Great, a man of genius, a revolutionary dictator, a usurper from the legitimist standpoint. The other was Paul I, whose acts were prompted by the whims of an insane mind. A Czar who is neither a genius like Peter — and such do not frequently sit anywhere on an hereditary throne — nor a madman like Paul is as much responsible for his ukases as an American judge for an *ex parte* order bearing his signature. The Czar, like the head of any other executive, can act only upon the recommendations of his department chiefs, who in their turn base their recommendations upon the reports of their subordinates, and so on, down to the bottom of the administration ladder. With a censored press, the Czar's information on current affairs is sifted through an administration sieve. Some meagre bits of knowledge of abuses could be gathered from "underground" publications, and Alexander II was a

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reader of Herzen's "Kolokol" ("The Bell"), which was printed in London; yet it is as natural for a monarch, as for a president, to discredit the "exaggerated" reports coming from a hostile source. What is more, even the reform policy must be carried out through the instrumentality of the same old bureaucratic machine. Nicholas I, the great-grandfather of the present Czar, an honest despot and a man of iron will, admitted his impotence to stamp out official corruption, against which he warred all his life. The Russian "autocracy," so called, is nothing but an irresponsible bureaucracy.

Since the time of Alexander II, independent men of all shades of opinion, from the conservative Slavophiles to the extreme radicals, have been unanimous in their demands for the removal of this "partition wall between the Czar and the people." In the last days of his reign Alexander II approved a report of the then Minister of the Interior, Count Loris Melikov, recommending the call of a constitutional convention. The plan did not contemplate the restriction of the autocratic power of the Czar. It merely provided for a "general commission," which was to be constituted as follows:

First, the thirty-two provinces which now enjoy the privilege of local self-government were to elect one or two representatives each, in proportion to their population. The election was not to be by popular vote; the representatives were to be elected by the assembly of the province (the *Zemstvo*).

Second, the municipal assemblies of St. Petersburg and Moscow were to elect two representatives each, and those of a few other principal cities one each.

Third, where no local self-government is organized, which embraces the greater part of the Empire, representatives to the general commission were to be appointed by the Government.

Fourth, in addition to these there were to be some members of the commission by imperial appointment.

The general commission was thus to be a body of about 150 members, of whom not more than sixty-eight were to be elective. In fact, many provinces were to have only one member each. In this computation, however, allowance is made for the representation of the principal cities. Moreover, the Government reserved to itself the power of apportionment, and was therefore in any case sure of a majority of appointive members. Furthermore, the presiding officer was to be appointed by the Czar.

The general commission was to have no power to initiate legislation,

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That was to be the office of a number of special committees created by imperial appointment, and composed of representatives of the departments of government and experts. All bills prepared by these committees were to be cabinet measures, and could be introduced in the convention by imperial authority only. The appointive members of the convention were to be selected from the membership of these legislative committees. All other members were also to be accorded seats in the convention, each of them with a vote upon all bills coming from his respective committee. All measures after passing the convention were to be introduced in the Imperial Council by the cabinet ministers, with their recommendations. The procedure in the Imperial Council was not affected by this plan. The Imperial Council, which is the now existing national legislature, is appointed by the Czar, and has a consultative voice only. All bills adopted by the Council are submitted to the Czar for approval; and in case of division a minority bill may be likewise submitted. The Czar may approve either the majority or the minority bill, which then becomes a law. He may, however, veto both.

The execution of the plan was left to Alexander III, who endorsed the report of Count Loris Melikov in the following terms: "It is very well drawn." At the special session of the cabinet called on March 20, 1881, for the final consideration of the bill, it received seven affirmative against five negative votes; Grand Duke Vladimir being among those in favor, and Mr. Pobiedonostzev, the Procurator of the Holy Synod, among those opposed.

It is evident from the foregoing that no radical changes in the form of government were contemplated. Under the organization proposed, the absolute power of the Czar, in both the executive and the legislative branches of the Government, would not have been curtailed. But a medium was to be created through which the property-holding classes, as represented in local self-government, could give expression to their views in matters of national legislation. Bureaucratic influence in framing the laws emanating from the sovereign power was to be moderated by the moral weight of conservative public opinion. The influence of the reactionary party, led by the late Mr. Katkov, editor of the "Moscovskiya Viedomosti," and Mr. Pobiedonostzev, succeeded, however, in defeating the plan.

For twenty years the Government has managed to keep down the demand for constitutional reform, until now it is again met with the same agitation renewed with greater vigor. It has been stated in a recent pamphlet by Mr. Bourtzeff — the Russian refugee who has served

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a sentence of imprisonment in England for advocating in his publication the methods of the terrorists — that but a few years ago his appeals met with general disapproval among Russian revolutionary organizations. Since last year, however, the terrorists have been as active as during the days of the "Executive Committee," and there is only one little faction among the Russian social democrats that opposes them. Revolutionary conspiracy to-day has scores of thousands of active sympathizers to feed upon, where the Executive Committee of 1879–81 had only hundreds.

The Government fully appreciates the seriousness of the situation, and has so far shrunk, comparatively speaking of course, from going to the extreme length of its powers. In 1876 a small meeting, attended perhaps by 200 persons, was held in front of the Kazan Cathedral, at St. Petersburg, and about thirty participants were arrested and sentenced for terms of years to the mines or to banishment for life to Siberia. Of late hundreds of arrests have been made at every demonstration, and the penalties, as a rule, do not exceed a few months' imprisonment, or, in some cases, deportation to Siberia for a limited period.

"Down with autocracy!" is shouted defiantly on the streets of the capital and other great cities, and troops have to be called out to restore peace. On one occasion they were ordered to fire upon a crowd of workmen in a suburb of St. Petersburg. It is rumored, however, that four regiments have since refused to obey the command. How long the bureaucratic party will be able to resist the popular demand for constitutional government remains to be seen.

ISAAC A. HOURWICH.

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A NEW BOOK ON MATTHEW ARNOLD.*

It is still an unsettled question whether it is best to let a poor book by an established author pass to its account practically uncriticised, or to censure it thoroughly and emphatically according to the critic's ability. A hundred years ago the brilliant men that founded "The Edinburgh Review" would not have admitted the existence of such a question. They applied to criticism Strafford's method of "Thorough"; and their most brilliant pupil, Macaulay, afterward gave, in his essay on the poetry of Mr. Robert Montgomery, what is perhaps the classic example in English of unmitigated literary condemnation.

Gradually, however, such scathing criticism became unfashionable, both because of a general softening of manners and because a higher view began to be taken of the critic's functions. To set a writer's merits in relief rather than to emphasize his faults seemed at once more kind to the individual and more advantageous to the cause of culture. Indiscriminate censure was not, indeed, completely replaced by inordinate eulogy, as readers of Matthew Arnold's lectures "On Translating Homer" and of sundry of Mr. Churton Collins' uncomplimentary reviews of books by Mr. Gosse and Prof. Saintsbury will easily recall. Still, the trend toward milder criticism has become stronger and stronger, until but the other day Mr. Collins, in his "Ephemera Critica," felt obliged to make an earnest plea for more rigorous and vigorous methods. Many of his arguments with regard to the necessity of maintaining high standards of scholarship and taste were undoubtedly sound; but probably most of his readers, used as they were to urbane not to say anæmic criticism, were somewhat ill at ease while perusing his trenchant pages. They were too familiar with the injunction "Put yourself in his place" to be able thoroughly to enjoy righteous denunciations of erring writers.

But although the day of the slashing review is apparently over, to the satisfaction of most of us, it can scarcely be questioned that the cause of literature is deriving little profit from two forms of criticism

* Matthew Arnold. By Herbert W. Paul. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1902.

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that seem to be in vogue. One of these forms is that of the extravagantly laudatory review written by a well-known man of letters, who, through kindheartedness or for some other reason, praises a contemporary book or writer in terms which he assuredly would not use if he were dealing with an author or work of the past. No reference is here made to mere notices in literary supplements and other such journals, or to what is sometimes called "log-rolling," but to elaborate essays that seem to the unwary reader impartial studies of books and writers, yet are really friendly tributes or solicited advertisements. Reviews of this character are becoming so usual that it is scarcely necessary to cite examples. If they were only friendly tributes, properly certified as such, they could do little harm and might do some good. But they are too frequently solicited advertisements and grossly misleading.

The other form of criticism from which little good can be expected is represented by the volume that is the subject of this article. It is difficult to choose a good name for it. Perhaps one cannot do better than to call it the criticism of nagging. For one reason or another, the critic who practises this method constantly damns with faint praise, or persistently follows up eulogy with completely neutralizing censure, or indulges in uncontrolled carping, or displays a total want of sympathy with his subject, or subordinates essentials to trivialities — in other words, makes his criticism prevailingly negative rather than positive. Such a critic does not hew and slash his victim as the reviewers of the days of Jeffrey and Brougham did — he has got beyond such displays of brute force — but he prods with a dagger or with a needle and is as irritating to some readers as a nagging person is in home life or in society. There is, of course, need of qualifying criticism, especially when minor writers are dealt with. It may be necessary to show how and wherein a Coventry Patmore differs from a Tennyson. But it is never necessary to insist upon what a writer is not merely in order that one may have the pleasure of airing one's own knowledge and critical acumen, or of exploiting one's prejudices.

Matthew Arnold has been unfortunate enough to prove in his own case the prevalence of the irresponsible, nagging methods of criticism just described, methods which he rarely practised and against which his own methods were a continual protest. Arnold, it is true, bantered some people and may have badgered Prof. Newman, but he was too urbane and good-natured to become a consistent nagger. His two British biographers and sundry essayists, both British and American, have however, nagged at him until it is time for some one to take them to task.

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It is natural, to be sure, for a writer to pass through a period of depreciation immediately after his death, provided he is important enough not to be at once eclipsed. It is perhaps not remarkable that in this country, about which Arnold said some not altogether wise things, certain writers should have endeavored to undermine his reputation, especially as patriotic Americans have in Lowell a critic whom they would like to advance above Arnold. It is also conceivable that British advocates of beliefs and habits and policies he opposed should have remembered the adage about the dead lion and endeavored to rehabilitate their respective causes at Arnold's expense. But it is at least curious that Englishmen should write unsympathetic books and essays about Arnold in his capacity as a man of letters, in view of the fact that both as poet and critic he is one of the few authors of the last half-century who have helped to give British literature some cosmopolitan standing. It is hard to name any epoch of British literature from which the name of a writer of Arnold's calibre could be excised without considerable loss. Certainly the latter part of Victoria's reign is not such an epoch; and the arguments that would apply against the total excision of his name apply, though with less force, against unsympathetic and depreciative treatment of his work in letters.

Mr. Paul's predecessor in the delicate task of writing a critical biography of Matthew Arnold may fairly be said to have made it improbable that any subsequent biographer will do less justice to his subject in equal space. Two volumes of the size and spirit of Mr. J. C. Jeaffreson's "The Real Shelley" might very well surpass in want of sympathy Prof. Saintsbury's "lively and learned study" of Arnold, to quote Mr. Paul, which appeared in 1899 in the series known as "Modern English Writers." But Jeaffreson seemed to have a personal spite against Shelley, whereas Prof. Saintsbury appears to be constitutionally incapable of doing justice to any form of liberal thought. It would be rash to say that his volume on Matthew Arnold is the worst biography in English, but it is not rash to say that of all possible biographers and critics Prof. Saintsbury, on account of his defective sympathies and his bizarre style, is probably the last man upon whom Matthew Arnold's choice would have fallen, had he been allowed a voice in the matter.

It is almost equally certain that his choice would not have fallen on Mr. Paul, not because of the latter's want of sympathy, but because of his apparently irresistible propensity to carp, to drag in extraneous trivialities, and to set at defiance all the laws of proportion. Mr. Paul

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is truly sympathetic with Arnold's poetry, criticism, and work as an educator, and he is not unappreciative of the merits of the latter's political and semi-theological, semi-philosophical writings. Three of his fourteen chapters are devoted to Arnold's poetry, and the place allotted him is so near those occupied by Tennyson and Browning that the most enthusiastic admirer of Arnold the poet ought to be satisfied. Owing to the disorderly arrangement of the book — discussions of the poems, for example, are likely to occur anywhere — it is difficult to compute just how much space is given to Arnold's literary criticism; but the amount is fairly adequate, and the position among formative books assigned the first series of the "Essays in Criticism" is one with which lovers of Arnold can have little reason to quarrel. "But few critics," writes Mr. Paul, "have been so thoroughly original, and still fewer have had so large a share of the 'dæmonic' faculty, the faculty which awakens intelligent enthusiasm in others. 'Essays in Criticism' is one of the indispensable books. Not to have read it is to be ignorant of a great intellectual event."

It is not necessary to imitate Mr. Paul's chief fault of carping, by pointing out that it is possible, by reading criticism upon Arnold's book instead of reading the book itself, not to be ignorant of this "great intellectual event." It is much more gracious to admit frankly that in the sentences just quoted Mr. Paul shows that he realizes Arnold's high merits as a critic and the main reason why his criticism was and is so influential. But when we turn to the chapter of nineteen pages that derives its title from that of Arnold's famous book, what do we find?

First, in a paragraph of two pages, Mr. Paul repeats Disraeli's well-known prophecy with regard to Arnold's literary future, discusses some remarks made in one of Arnold's letters apropos of a sermon by Bishop Wilberforce, and then passes to a consideration of Arnold's lack of appreciation for Tennyson. The last-named topic evidently weighs upon this biographer, for he mentions or discusses it four times in his small book of 177 pages of text. He seems to think that the fact that Tennyson wrote "In Memoriam" disposes of Arnold's charge that the Laureate was deficient in intellectual power, and he finds it passing strange that Arnold should have preferred Byron to Tennyson. But where are the "Essays in Criticism"?

They appear in the second paragraph and occupy the remainder of the chapter; but it is hard to say what definite ideas the average reader will be able to gather with regard to the book as a whole or to the character of Arnold's critical methods. The assertion is, indeed, made that

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Arnold laid down principles, even if he did not always keep them, and that after reading "Essays in Criticism" no one "has any excuse for not being a critic." But although Mr. Paul discusses and illustrates Arnold's first principle, "disinterestedness," he soon wanders off to censure the latter's trick of repetition, a congenial occupation which allows him to quote and comment upon the Collect for St. John the Evangelist's Day. Previous to indulging in this divagation, he is duly appreciative of the beautiful apostrophe to Oxford in the famous preface, quotes from the essay on Heine the passage describing the term "philistinism," and devotes a long paragraph to Arnold's "worship of Burke," in the course of which he manages to inform his readers that "the greatest writer of English prose is Shakspere," and convicts Arnold of a "strange historical error" of slight consequence. In other words, after one has read nearly half of the chapter on the "Essays in Criticism," one has a better idea of Mr. Paul's views with regard to Burke's style and character than one has of Arnold's critical principles. Instead of agreeing with him as to the truly extraordinary power of making critics attributed to the "Essays," a not captious reader might be moved to declare that Mr. Paul's chapter leaves little excuse for believing that Arnold really had any critical principles at all, much less for believing that his biographer derived special benefit from perusing the book he has declared "indispensable."

The remainder of the chapter is equally discursive, and is amusing or irritating according as one inclines to the temperament of Democritus or to that of Heraclitus. Mr. Paul, perhaps with justice, objects to Arnold's comparison of Maurice de Guérin with Keats; then, after convicting Arnold of misquoting Keats, he leaps to the statement that Ste. Beuve was Arnold's master in criticism, quotes from the great Frenchman, and follows the justificatory quotation with a free translation (although on the next page he leaves a couplet from Victor Hugo to be translated by the reader), launches into a discussion of French Alexandrines and Popian couplets, talks pleasantly about Pope, Lucretius, Horace, and Shelley, and finally gets back to the "Essays in Criticism" by recurring to the essay on Heine. Then, after attempting to show that Arnold's theory of class led him entirely astray since "class is a fiction," Mr. Paul praises the essay on "Pagan and Mediæval Religious Sentiment," and selects from it a passage which he takes to represent Arnold's criticism at its best. After this he tells what he himself thinks of Joubert rather than what Arnold thought, a procedure which he more or less employs in treating the essays on Spinoza and Marcus Aurelius. The chapter closes with a brief disquisition on the relations

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of Marcus Aurelius and Epictetus, in the midst of which occurs the following sententious remark — "Epictetus was a slave." If "Essays in Criticism" is to be regarded as a seminal book and to be judged by the seeds it sows, it is difficult, after reading this chapter, to resist the conclusion that it sows more tares than wheat.

It would obviously be useless to apply such minute analysis to Mr. Paul's thirteen other chapters. *Ex pede Herculem.* He everywhere perceives Arnold's merits, but nowhere sets them in clear relief. He frequently indicates with great sagacity Arnold's many faults, but does it in a way that makes them appear to overbalance his merits. He nags at even the most beautiful poems by pointing out some verbal or rhythmical infelicity, in the discovery of which he occasionally shows himself to be overacute. He succumbs often to the temptation to refer to, or quote from, a large number of not always relevant authors. Since he shows a love and knowledge of the classics rare for the present day, this phase of Mr. Paul's discursiveness is easily pardoned; but his sudden leaps and transitions are scarcely pardonable. Nothing will quite explain the almost total lack of systematic and proportionate treatment that mars Mr. Paul's entire book. A younger writer might plead inexperience; Mr. Paul might perhaps plead that he merely meant to chat entertainingly about Matthew Arnold but for the fact that his volume appears in what is probably the most dignified and valuable series of literary monographs in English.

It is not so important, however, to understand how Mr. Paul, a practised writer, came to compose such a book, or how so inadequate a treatment of a great author like Matthew Arnold was admitted to the "English Men of Letters," as it is to endeavor to show with some detail that the adverse criticism here expressed is not only not unwarranted but really unavoidable in justice to Mr. Paul himself, to the memory and fame of Arnold, and to the reputation of Mr. John Morley's famous series. This object may, perhaps, be best attained by some cursory comments on a majority of Mr. Paul's chapters.

The short introduction illustrates the biographer's chief merit of intelligent sympathy with Arnold's poetry and criticism, but also illustrates his faults of style and method. The over-frequent use of short sentences, as for example in the second paragraph, is, to say the least, a little irritating, while the large number of details introduced is very confusing. Yet the general conclusion as to Arnold's position in English literature can scarcely be objected to except on the ground that it would have been more effective in the last chapter than it can be in the

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first. It may be doubted also whether Mr. Paul is wise in categorically asserting that, next to Milton, Arnold is "the most learned of the English poets." Arnold's learning seems much more questionable, so far as concerns its extent, than his faculty for making an excellent use of what learning he had. One wonders how much learning Mr. Paul attributes to Ben Jonson and Gray, to mention no others.

The second chapter, entitled "Rugby and Oxford," deals almost as much with Dr. Arnold as with his more famous son, but this is not a fault; whereas one is inclined to think Mr. Paul might have spared himself the trouble of antagonizing admirers of Gibbon by the unqualified statement that Thucydides, Dr. Arnold's favorite, is the greatest of historians. Even if he had distinguished between historians who deal with contemporary affairs and those who, by means of the historic imagination, set past ages before us, it would still hardly have been necessary to express an opinion upon the matter. A slight endeavor to learn something more from Arnold's surviving friends about the poet's career at Oxford would have been more to the point. As it is, Mr. Paul, in default of information from Arnold's "Letters," contents himself with a slight quotation from Lord Coleridge and a few easily ascertainable facts. One or two comments, however, lend some value to the chapter. It is undoubtedly true that narrowness was not among Matthew Arnold's faults. "He was rather too apt to think that there was no subject upon which an educated man is not competent to form an opinion."

The third and fourth chapters deal in the main with Arnold's poetry, but also give details of his life. The biographical paragraphs here and elsewhere are as a rule provokingly general, and add little to what might be gathered by a reader of the "Letters" who supplemented them with a glance at a good biographical article. Perhaps this is to be expected in a monograph devoted mainly to criticism; but if a biographical sketch was to be attempted at all it should surely have been presented with some regard to a reader's natural desire for consecutiveness. Such of Mr. Paul's readers as are not already familiar with the outlines of Arnold's life must be content to piece the biography together as best they may. Lovers of Arnold's poetry, as has already been said, will have no occasion to quarrel on general grounds with Mr. Paul, who censures with just severity the public that was so insensible to the merits of good poetry as to let Arnold's first two volumes fall dead from the press. But good general praise is not followed by a general discussion of Arnold's specific contribution to English poetry, of his subtle, restrained art, of the interesting growth of his poetic fame, of his value as an exponent of the re-

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ligious unrest of his age, and of his high rank among English elegists. Mr. Paul prefers to make desultory comments on individual poems, some of which — the comments, not the poems — are rather curious. For example, the famous sonnet on Shakspere, so highly valued by many readers, is regarded as a proof of the modern poet's courage rather than of his discretion. Mr. Paul sees little reason why Arnold should be so often compared with Gray. Perhaps he would have seen more if he had recalled Gray's learning and classical qualities of style and discussed Arnold's elegiac work as a whole. But there is no need of catching Mr. Paul's fondness for dwelling on trifling points which he illustrates specially well in the third of a page he devotes to the fact that when he first printed "Tristram and Iseult" Arnold made "Tyntagel" a dactyl. The criticism of this poem and of "Mycerinus" shows that, while Mr. Paul may be too prone to air his own likes and dislikes, he can write interestingly about whatever may chance to please him. But pleasant chat is not criticism.

Chapter V is entitled "The Oxford Chair," but the professorship of poetry and the lectures "On Translating Homer" are by no means the only topics that fill its pages. It condemns "Merope," with justice, although, perhaps, with too much insistence; discusses Arnold's attitude toward Gladstone and Tennyson and our civil war; contains a deserved but out-of-place commendation of "A Southern Night," that lovely elegy on Arnold's brother; and makes sundry references to the valuable labors the poet was contemporaneously devoting to the cause of popular education. Thackeray having died while Arnold was holding his professorship, and the latter having declared that the former was not a great writer, Mr. Paul asserts that certain of Thackeray's novels, which he duly names, "are scarcely to be matched in English fiction." It is easy to agree with him, perhaps easier to wish that he had given a single paragraph to Arnold's ineptitudes instead of stringing them through the book.

The sixth chapter treats the "Essays in Criticism" and has already been sufficiently discussed. The seventh is entitled "The End of the Professorship," a convenient heading which allows Mr. Paul to be as discursive as he desires. He avails himself of the opportunity in a paragraph of two and a half pages that has less unity than one expects to find in Milton or Dryden. It begins with the statement that at Zurich Arnold heard of Palmerston's death. Then, after two sentences on Palmerston, a quotation with regard to that statesman is given from one of Arnold's letters. We are soon told, without a word of transition, that

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Arnold was the best of sons and that his "allusions" to his father in his letters to his mother "are really a more affectionate form of the feeling which prompted Frederick the Great's filial presents of gigantic grenadiers." A quotation from a letter in which Arnold compares his father with Frederick Robertson is then given — did the two "Fredericks" suggest it?—and without warning we are informed that Arnold knew little or nothing of physical science. It was, therefore, "an interesting proof of his mental width" that he should have advised his sister to study science. Perhaps, thinks his biographer, he felt the need of a scientific training himself. But he was intensely practical, as he showed by applying for a commissionership of charities, which Mr. Paul thinks he should have had. The reader thinks instead that every paragraph should have an ending, and is less sympathetic than he ought to be when he is given to understand that Gladstone would not bestow the place on Arnold on account of the latter's suspected heterodoxy. By the time Mr. Paul has described how Arnold applied for the post of Librarian to the House of Commons, and has presented reasons why he did not get it as well as why he should not have got it, he himself remembers that there is some difference between a chapter and a paragraph and comes to a sudden halt. That this is an exceptionally discursive passage may be admitted, but it illustrates Mr. Paul's success in adding to the already large mass of inconsequential criticism in English. Arnold's lucubrations on Celtic literature, which are discussed on the usual lines in this chapter, are not the happiest illustration in English of consequential criticism; but after reading most of the criticism that has been devoted to Arnold himself one sighs for a little more of even his least valuable work.

The eighth chapter deals briefly with the "New Poems" of 1867, and does not differ in quality from its predecessors devoted to the earlier poetry. After praising "Thyrsis" and damning Clough with faint praise, Mr. Paul remarks: "That 'Thyrsis' is inferior to 'Lycidas' hardly requires stating. All English dirges, except the dirge in 'Cymbeline,' are." It hardly requires stating that "Lycidas" is a pastoral elegy, and that to compare a simple dirge with it is about as misleading as to compare a household cat with a Bengal tiger. It may be remarked that in this chapter, as elsewhere, Mr. Paul almost inveighs against Arnold's experiments in rhymeless lyrics without giving him credit for a brave attempt to expand the metrical resources of English poets. He also seems to think that the lines about Byron in the "Stanzas from the Grande Chartreuse" are more familiar than those describing Arnold's attitude toward the Christian creed. This is certainly not the case in

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America; but perhaps Arnold's general attitude toward religion has meant more here than it has in certain circles in England. It is scarcely possible to account on other grounds for Mr. Paul's failure to emphasize the importance of much of Arnold's poetry as a sort of spiritual mirror of his times. It was apparently because Arnold mirrored the unrest of his epoch that his poems made so deep an appeal to many thoughtful readers; but this appeal was strengthened by the charm of a poetic art which Mr. Paul appreciates without successfully analyzing.

The next four chapters deal with Arnold's contributions to education, to philosophy, to theology, and to politics. Space is wanting for even cursory criticism of them, nor is there much necessity for it, although it would be unjust not to commend the sympathetic treatment of "Culture's Garland," Arnold's wittiest book. Mr. Paul remains throughout discursive and dogmatic, but he is far more sympathetic with Arnold in regard to the latter's theological and political views than it was possible for Prof. Saintsbury to be. After all, it is probably as difficult to admire Arnold unreservedly in his rôles of theologian and politician as it is to admire Ruskin unreservedly in his rôle of economist. Certainly the publication of the "Letters" revealed what a blind side Arnold kept to many of the great popular movements going on around him. Just as certainly, however, he was a most liberalizing force in both educational and religious matters. As intellectual solvents "Literature and Dogma" and "God and the Bible" are still doing a useful work among classes of people that a generation ago anathematized their author. When Arnold was on his first lecture tour in America — a phase of his career which Mr. Paul treats but slightly — a professor in a large university announced that he would not shake hands with such an infidel if the latter were invited to address the students of the institution. That such a speech would scarcely be possible in this country to-day is partly due to the diffusion of Arnold's writings.

Two short chapters deal with Arnold's later criticism and with his last days. They are neither better nor worse than their predecessors, while the concluding comparison of Arnold with Tennyson and Browning is perhaps more suggestive than such comparisons are wont to be. But Mr. Paul will not allow one to forget the carelessness with which his whole book seems to have been written. Two pages from the end he indulges in this bit of bathos: "As a critic he was incapable of obscurity or of inaccuracy. His scholarship was as sound as it was brilliant. He had the instinct of a journalist, and was never at a loss for an appropriate heading."

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This deserves to become classical as an anti-climax. The vision of Matthew Arnold as a composer of headlines is indeed inspiring. But we must take leave of him and of Mr. Paul with something less grotesque in our minds; and if we consider Mr. Paul rather than Arnold, we shall do well to remember one or two of the former's clever turns of phrase. Perhaps the following, which is not flippant, as Mr. Paul's cleverness is likely to be, and contains a deal of truth, will suffice for an example: "The fact is, it was not Home Rule, but Gladstone's Home Rule, that Matthew Arnold disliked. Indeed, one might almost say that it was not Home Rule, but Gladstone."

It is scarcely necessary to say in conclusion that in Matthew Arnold Mr. Paul had a most difficult subject, and that if the present volume showed a worthy effort on the part of its author to grapple resolutely and soberly with the problems involved, he would deserve sympathy rather than fault-finding. But besides indulging in frequent levity and in egotistic foibles, as well as in preponderatingly negative and nagging criticism, and besides putting his book together in an unworkmanlike manner, Mr. Paul has failed to give evidence of thorough preparation and of adequate appreciation of his responsibilities. Perhaps one should not blame him for not endeavoring to supplement the "Letters," although it would seem that he thereby lost an opportunity to make his monograph specially valuable. One may, however, legitimately inquire why the indebtedness of Arnold to Senancour is not even made the subject of a paragraph, why the name of Leopardi is not mentioned, why the share that Burke, Goethe, Wordsworth, Ste. Beuve, and Heine had in making Arnold the man and writer that Mr. Paul and so many others admire, is not set forth clearly and succinctly. It is not because Mr. Paul did not have more space at his command — he has sacrificed page after page to asides and trivialities; it is not because he is incapable of doing such serious critical work — he is a widely read and keenly intellectual man endowed with that indispensable quality, a sense of humor; it is most probably because he did not, for some reason or other, fully recognize the importance of his task and conscientiously set about its accomplishment.

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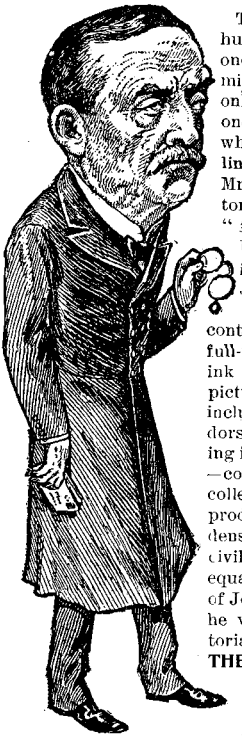

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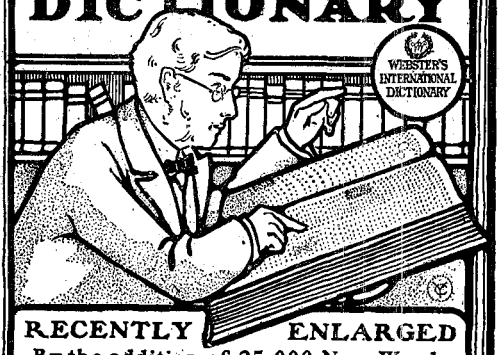

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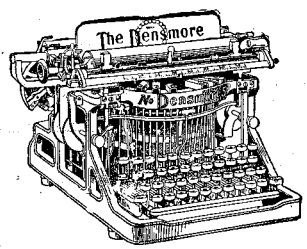

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